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A STUDENT'S GUIDE TO
THE MANUSCRIPTS OF
THE BRITISH MUSEUM

JULIUS P. GILSON

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[Continued on p. 3.]

**A STUDENT'S GUIDE
TO THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE
BRITISH MUSEUM,**

HELPS FOR STUDENTS OF HISTORY. No. 31

EDITED BY C. JOHNSON, M.A., H. W. V. TEMPERLEY, M.A.,
AND J. P. WHITNEY, B.D., D.C.L.

A STUDENT'S GUIDE TO THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM

BY

JULIUS P. GILSON, M.A.

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A STUDENT'S GUIDE TO THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM

WHY MANUSCRIPTS MUST BE STUDIED

A DISTINGUISHED historian not very long ago asserted that it was impossible to write history from manuscripts. We may be sure, however, that he would have been among the first to accept the converse half-truth, that it is impossible to write history without the aid of manuscripts. Further than this, it would probably be safe to say that no historian can acquire the truly scientific spirit necessary for the proper handling of material and the making of broad and true generalizations if he has not himself had some first-hand knowledge and experience of work upon the manuscript sources with which he has to deal. In the biological world the mass of facts to be studied is so great that no leading generalizations are to be expected from a naturalist working purely upon his own examination of species. So it is in history, at any rate the history of civilized peoples in the last eight hundred years. He who would study the interaction of facts and the thoughts and actions

of men will find so vast a mass of evidences to work upon that he cannot rely purely upon his own reading of sources. He needs archivists and monograph-writers to act as his middle-men, to put into print in a concise and digested form the result of years of minute study. Whether or not such middle-men may themselves be entitled to the name of historians we need not stay to discuss. They are as necessary to the work of the master historian as the builder is to the architect. But the point to be noted here is that just as Darwin attributed the success of his generalizations in biology in no small degree to his prolonged training in the minute and detailed description and classification of barnacles, so the greatest historians have felt the need of work at original sources to enable them to value correctly the results obtained for them by others, to judge when they may accept such results without verification and when they must regard them as open to suspicion of inaccuracy or prejudice.

WHAT AND WHERE ARE THESE MANUSCRIPTS ?

Granted that the study of manuscript sources is indispensable to the historian, where are these sources to be found ? The answer must depend upon the individual historian's view of history, but it is difficult to conceive of any view of history which will not find much of its material in a great collection of manuscripts. It is more than possible, it is wise to protest against a conception of history

based purely upon the study of official archives, because it tends to ignore or undervalue the importance to human happiness and human progress of art and literature, the knowledge and ideals, the beliefs, the desires, and the passions of a people. But all these, it is scarcely necessary to say, are reflected in written as well as printed words, and often more clearly in the less formal medium, just as we may often get a better idea of past times from an old dwelling-house than from a cathedral. Nevertheless, even the most convinced disciple of J. R. Green will not deny that the study of administration constitutes a necessary part of history—indeed, it may well be said that Green's greatest service to history was in calling attention to the insufficient study of some departments of administration, other than national, which was a defect of the historians before his day. Let us, then, begin with the history of government in the widest sense of the term. Primarily, according to modern ideas, archives are the proper place of deposit for documents preserved for administrative purposes, relating to any department of national or other public affairs. National, ecclesiastical, municipal, manorial, local, and private archives are all receptacles for the accumulation of documents of high importance to the historian, and each of these classes will doubtless be the subject of one or other of the books in this series, but they are not the sole nor always the ultimate repositories for the documents which the historian needs. The science of archive-keeping, so far as it is

directed to instructing the remote future, is comparatively modern, and even when a more restricted point of view has been kept in mind, the practice of the art has always fallen far short of the ideals of the time. Especially the idea of a centralized and comprehensive national archive-house has been very slow of realization. Speaking generally, our archives have come into being to meet the practical and immediate needs of the departments of government with which they are directly connected, and have continued for the greater part of their history to be in the custody of those departments. As the forms of government alter, however, it is easy for the departments of it to lose their identity or change their functions, and for this reason they may have come to neglect the preservation of such of their documents as they no longer have any reason to consult. Changes of handwriting and of the language or forms of documents have sometimes conduced to this neglect by rendering the documents illegible or unintelligible to the successors of those who wrote them. Too often, also, the custody of the archives has been allowed to remain in the hands of the individual administrators, instead of the office. They have thus been regarded as the administrator's private property, and have been subject to all the accidents incidental to the preservation of private property from one generation to another. One or other of these causes has lost for the historian millions of documents of inestimable value for his purposes, and scattered hundreds of thousands of others in

places where they are not readily accessible. Against these perils, however, there have, for centuries before the days of Public Records Commissions, been certain forces at work, spasmodically and unscientifically, but none the less actuated by right motives. Men of learning and public spirit, historians and antiquaries, political and ecclesiastical students, both conservatives and reformers, have recognized the dangers of ignorance of the past, and fought against them according to their ability. The result has been to establish in private, semi-private, or public libraries store-houses for the neglected records of the past, and though such libraries have had their vicissitudes of fortune, they have on the whole tended to keep up a sense of the value of their contents and to preserve them from further neglect or destruction. To the exertions of some of these men we owe the great public libraries of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dublin, and many others of a semi-private character, such as the libraries of cathedrals, colleges, and Inns of Court, as well as that with which we are at present concerned, the national library in the British Museum. The outlines of the process by which this was evolved we shall have to discuss in the next section.

But the political and economic sides of historical study, which find their principal pabulum in records, form but a part of historical study as a whole, and even for these the student cannot afford to neglect many writings other than records which may embody political theory or economic

facts. Literature, religion, philosophy, science, and art have all to be taken into account. We have to consider how far the study of manuscripts is necessary for these purposes also, and in what ways it is to be made useful. All literature, of course, except its very earliest forms, which may have been committed to memory, and its very latest, in the record of which mechanical contrivances are beginning to play a part, is originally written, but undoubtedly the most and the best of it, from all periods, has by now been committed to the press. What need have we, then, for concerning ourselves with manuscripts? Is it not generally true that a literary or scientific work only remains unprinted if it is not worth printing? It would be easy to meet this half-truth with another, and say that no printed edition can ever give all the information to be extracted from the manuscript on which it is based. But the answer would be lacking in precision. It would be absurd to suggest that no writer for the press should ever destroy his copy when it returns to him from the printer, though for special reasons we may desire to keep the original manuscripts of a few great writers. A reader in the British Museum—he belonged to a nation not conspicuous for humility—has been known, when rebuked for careless usage of an ancient manuscript, to reply that when his edition was published the manuscript would no longer be worth a snap of the fingers. Let us see exactly why he was wrong. In the first place an ancient manuscript is either in the autograph of the author,

or it is not. In the former case, which is very rare, it contains evidence by which the correctness of the edition must be tested, evidence not merely of the actual words of the author, but, what is more difficult, of the date or dates at which they were written, the place of origin, the completeness or incompleteness of the work, and other points, upon which the editor, printing long afterwards, may have erred. In the latter case the text has passed through the hands of one or more, generally of many more, copyists, all of whom have certainly made some mistakes. The text has therefore to be restored by textual criticism, which is not a mechanical process, not even an exact science, but is based on minute study of the data given by the various manuscripts. It is, moreover, coming to be more recognized that even bad manuscripts, by the evidence which they afford of the mode of transmission of a work, can be of importance for the establishment of a correct text. Until an infallible race of editors is evolved, of which there is no sign, manuscripts must still be studied. But it is not even true that nearly all mediæval literature worth study has been printed. It may be true that nearly all has been printed which it would pay to print—that is to say, nearly all which any large number of persons wishes to read, or rather to possess. But a literary work may be important to the historian precisely because the general modern reader finds it unreadable. If a book which was readable in the Middle Ages is unreadable now, it is presumed to be because the

mental condition of the mediæval reader was different, and it is the function of history to make it clear what that difference is. Lastly, history cannot afford to neglect the study of art, and the decoration of books is a department of art which occupied in the Middle Ages a more important place than it has done since the sixteenth century. Many of the pictures used in decoration of books are also of interest as illustrations of contemporary social life, although the use of them for this purpose is not always such a simple matter as at first sight appears. It requires experience to discriminate what is realistic representation from what is mere convention or intended to make a pictorial story readily intelligible. It would be rash to assume that a King always wore his crown or a Bishop his mitre on the occasions on which an illuminator represents him as wearing them. Still, the knowledge to be gained from illuminated manuscripts is considerable and by no means exhausted, and the British Museum possesses a collection not only unrivalled for the study of the British schools of illumination, but scarcely equalled by any one other library for the study of the art of the Continental nations.

ORIGINS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM MANU- SCRIPT COLLECTIONS

Apart from the Exchequer, the Wardrobe, and the Chancery, the principal storehouses for records, and almost the sole storehouses for literature in

the country, during the Middle Ages, were the archives and libraries of the monasteries and of the houses of friars. The first great general danger to these accumulations came, therefore, with the suppression of the religious houses under Henry VIII. But along with the destruction that then took place came also, under the same King's authority, those first remedial measures which must be associated with the name of John Leland. By his means, and in virtue of the powers given him by the King to seek out and rescue books from the monastic libraries, the Royal Library, virtually founded some fifty years before by Edward IV., first acquired a real importance as a collection of literary and historical material. Genuine, however, though Henry's appreciation of learning, especially theological learning, undoubtedly was, his love for historical material was not so strong as his greed for money, and his coadjutors in the suppression cared even less. The bulk of the libraries and archives were scattered, and the survival during the next seventy years of any part of them outside the Royal Library results mainly from the labours of a few private collectors. Among these special mention is due to Archbishop Cranmer; Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel; his son-in-law John, Lord Lumley; Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel; Sir Robert Cotton; Sir Thomas Bodley; and Archbishop Parker. Others there were, such as Dr. John Dee, Lord William Howard, and Henry Savile of Banke, who also, in their individual capacities, rendered impor-

tant services of the same kind; but the collections of the seven men first mentioned eventually passed almost entire into public keeping—the first five to the British Museum, Bodley's to Oxford, Parker's to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. And the last three of them seem to have collected definitely with a view to the public service and not to private profit. With Bodley and Parker we are not here concerned, but as the name of Cotton is somewhat of an abomination to the professional archivist, it seems but fair to note the aims of his work. In association with other members of the (Elizabethan) Society of Antiquaries, he prepared, in his younger days, a comprehensive scheme for a British Academy and National Historical Library which should incorporate the Royal Library and other collections, and should also endow historical research. It was apparently only upon the failure of this scheme—a failure due to the parsimony of Elizabeth's Government—that he embarked upon his own private enterprise of collecting historical manuscripts and documents, and it was because he found in the archives of departments no facilities for historical study that he became guilty of most of those sins against the important principle of *respect des fonds*—that documents must not be divorced from their context, that is to say from other documents belonging to the same department—which the modern historian finds it hard to forgive. In any case, Cotton's raids upon the public records provided but a part of his collection, and the praise or blame attaching to them must

be shared with the King who gave him permission to make them. His greatest services to learning were in collecting from other sources, and the full story of the Cotton Library has yet to be written, though portions of it may be read in Edwards's *Memoirs of Libraries* and *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum*. To proceed with this necessarily brief summary of the origins of that institution, King James I. has a less ambiguous title to gratitude for his purchase of the Lumley Library (including the collection of Cranmer and Henry, Earl of Arundel), which he presented to his son, Prince Henry, and resumed on the Prince's death. He has also the credit of providing for the first time an active and competent librarian, Patrick Young, and of securing a part of the library of the famous scholar Isaac Casaubon.

Among the great collectors of the seventeenth century lawyers take the lead, and two of them who were nearly contemporaries of Cotton deserve mention here. Sir Simonds D'Ewes brought together a mass of historical material, which, as a tributary to the Harley Collection, ultimately came to increase that of the Museum. Sir Julius Cæsar's library, not so fortunate in remaining a single unit, has yet, through the Lansdowne Collection and otherwise, contributed substantially to the same end. The majority, however, of the great libraries of that century, such as those of Archbishop Laud, John Selden, Sir Kenelm Digby, and Elias Ashmole, went to augment the magnificent foundation of Sir Thomas Bodley. Somewhat

later the extensive manuscript collections of John Theyer were bought by Charles II., and the library of Lord Somers has a history analogous to that of Sir J. Cæsar.

With the opening of the eighteenth century we enter upon the period of unification and nationalization. The first stages are the acceptance by the nation of the Cotton Library as a gift from Cotton's grandson, and the fuller recognition of a national interest in the Royal Library which gradually came about during the time that Richard Bentley combined the keepership of both libraries. The further stages were the purchase of the Harleian Collection formed by the first two Earls of Oxford, the acceptance of the bequest of Sir Hans Sloane's Collection, the definite gift of the Royal Library and the foundation of the British Museum in order to afford house-room and provide custody for the four collections in one building. The date of the Museum Act of Parliament is 1753, and that of the opening of the building 1759.

LATER HISTORY OF THE MUSEUM MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS.

Space does not admit of any detailed description of the processes by which the manuscript contents of the Museum have grown from roughly 15,000 volumes, the number which it had at its original opening, to over 51,000, which the Manuscript Department now contains, to say nothing of the corresponding increase in the number of charters

or deeds not bound into volumes, or the addition of a new class in the Greek and Latin papyri. It has come about, of course, partly by the gift, bequest, or purchase of whole libraries, partly by bequests, donations, and purchases in detail from year to year. As regards the former, the enumeration of the separate collections, with brief notes of their origin, will be given in Appendix A. Both here and in single acquisitions the generosity and public spirit of private benefactors has co-operated with the prudence of the Trustees and the skill of their officers, who in the latter case have spared no pains to employ to the best advantage the funds at their disposal for improving the collections and rendering them accessible. There is, however, one benefaction that concerns both classes, and is thereby particularly calculated to keep warm the memory of the donors in a librarian's heart. Francis Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater, not only bequeathed to the Museum in 1829 his collection of manuscripts, but also an annuity to be devoted to its increase, and this sum, afterwards augmented by his relative Charles Long, Lord Farnborough, maintains the Egerton Collection, not as something dead and complete, but as a living and growing entity. Without in any way disparaging the generosity of other benefactors, we could wish that more of them had followed this example, especially since Treasury grants, though they have never failed us except in stress of a great war, are very far from growing in proportion to the growth of prices of manuscripts. Of

this appreciation of values there are many causes, but two particularly notable. The first is the rise of wealthy English-speaking nations over sea, anxious, like ourselves, to possess memorials of their history, and, by the very reason of the shortness of that history, able to spend more upon illustrating any particular portion of it than an ancient country can hope to do. The other is the collecting mania in respect of autographs. It is not to be denied that the appreciation of autograph letters of real historical interest has its good side. It has done something to save historical documents from destruction, and much more to stimulate interest in them among the general public. It has been the policy of the Museum to make a full use in its exhibition galleries of the possibilities of autographs for this purpose, and there is reason to believe that it has been successful. Nevertheless, there has been nothing more destructive to all sound principles of archivism than the scattering of such documents in private collections away from their context. The prices obtained at sales are governed by the rarity of the autograph rather than by its intrinsic interest, and it is clearly impossible to fight against the passions of acquisitiveness with such moneys as are obtainable in this, or perhaps in any, country for a purely scientific purpose.

WHAT TO EXPECT TO FIND IN THE MUSEUM MANUSCRIPTS.

Brief as I have necessarily made the foregoing outlines of an answer to the question how the manuscripts in the Museum came there, they seemed an essential, or at least a useful, preliminary to the treatment of the more important question which stands at the head of this section. It would be easy to fill and overfill the available space with a dry, condensed list of different kinds of manuscripts which are in the Department. To formulate useful principles as to what is or is not likely to be there is more difficult, but the attempt must be made. People come to the Students' Room, or write to the officers of the Department, with the most diverse notions of what they may expect to find, and although the readers of these Helps for Students will not probably need to be told that they cannot see there autograph writings of the Apostles, or the signatures of the Norman and Angevin Kings of England—no, not even the signature of King John on Magna Charta, though two of the original sealed exemplars of that document are, of course, there—yet there is every excuse for ignorance of such facts as that the Museum contains a preponderatingly large proportion of all extant charters of the Anglo-Saxon period, or that it is not the natural place to search for an Inclosure Award.

First of all, then, just as we found it convenient when considering the origins of the collections to

regard the Department primarily as a supplementary public archive, so now we will again put that aspect of it in the forefront, not because that is necessarily the most important function which it serves, but because this section of its contents presents special difficulties and snares for the inexperienced searcher. It may indeed be said that there are very few classes of public records for which the student may not have to use the manuscripts of the Museum, but the probability of his having to do so varies enormously in the different classes. If a stray volume of minutes of the Privy Council, a fragment of a Close Roll, or an Episcopal Register happens to be there, this is only by a rare accident, whereas the searcher after early Wardrobe Accounts is almost as likely to find what he wants, if it survives at all, in the Museum as in the Public Record Office. There were some departments of Government, such as the mediæval office of King's Secretary, which seem never to have had a proper place for the deposit of archives, and even offices which kept their records with care sometimes had a marginal class of demi-official registers, precedent-books and the like, drawn up by the holders of various offices for their own convenience rather than as a matter of duty, which might or might not be thought worthy of official custody. Legal or official "polite letter-writers" of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries often yield valuable information to the historical student, though no class of document needs greater caution in its interpretation.

There is also in the Department an extensive store of calendars, indexes, and extracts of public records, compiled for the most part by antiquaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Unscientific though this second-hand work almost always is, it may yet be found useful. The original record may possibly be lost or displaced by later rearrangement, or the official calendaring may not yet have reached the stage of superseding this early and imperfect work. Even the blunders are often valuable as showing the source of statements in the earlier historians which cannot otherwise be traced.

But incomparably the largest class of historical documents by which the Museum supplements the Record Office is, as is well known, the correspondence of State officers, Secretaries of State, and other Ministers, civil, naval, and military administrators, and diplomatic representatives. It is not to the purpose here to discuss the history of the State Paper Office, or explain the comparative failure of this or that department of State to secure the custody of its own records. No settled policy in the matter can be said to have been, even in theory, adopted in this country prior to the Public Records Acts of the last century; and in practice a statesman's papers, unless he took pains to order it otherwise, have generally been his own papers and not the nation's. It is not easy to distinguish between public and private papers even now, nor would the distinction always correspond with the distinction of what is or is not interesting to the

historian. From the days of Richard of Bury to those of Lord Palmerston it has been notoriously possible for a statesman to put into a private letter things of more historical consequence than what he writes officially to the same address. Yet more possible is it for a statesman to receive in his private capacity letters which, upon occasion, may influence his public actions as greatly as any official dispatches. Substantially, therefore, a very large part of the most important correspondence of our statesmen has gone to form private and not public archives. The fate of such archives has varied, but scores of them have passed almost intact into the Museum collections.

For the reign of Henry VIII., which we may take to be the earliest period for which any bewildering quantity of such correspondence survives, the student enjoys the great advantage that Messrs. Brewer, Gairdner, and Brodie have combined in their calendars of *Letters and Papers* most of the different collections within and without the Public Record Office. For subsequent reigns he has to collect the materials for himself, although with respect to the Museum something has been done towards the combination of the different collections there, as will be explained later, in the volumes known as the Class Catalogue. Steps are now being taken to improve this, and to render it available for use outside the Museum. It is, of course, impossible in this place to give anything like a complete list of the important collections of State papers in the Museum, but a brief list of

some of the more important of them may serve to indicate the sort of material the student may expect to find there. Such a list is given in Appendix B.

Turning from national to minor records, we find an increased difficulty in laying down general rules for searchers. The survival of archives is dependent in most cases upon the continuity of life of the corporations to which they belong, and corporations, though they are fictitious persons, share to some extent in the mortal accidents which belong to the life of real persons. They vary likewise, as real persons do, in the quality of their memories as represented by their records. Corporations ecclesiastical have long memories, the Church being the oldest institution in the country, and they have good memories, because in the Middle Ages they included most of the scholars and many persons with legal training. But we are not much concerned here with episcopal records. The registers of Bishops remain, generally speaking, in episcopal custody, and are dealt with in another tract in this series, though we must note that the Museum has much second-hand information extracted from them, especially in the White-Kennett Collections among the Lansdowne MSS. For monastic corporations, on the other hand, the Museum is, as we have seen, the most important repository of surviving records. They do not, for the most part, appear among the manuscripts rescued by Leland for Henry VIII., but owe their preservation during the perilous period after the

Dissolution, and before the revival of historical study at the end of the sixteenth century, to their value as title-deeds for the holders of confiscated monastic lands. Their contents, however, cover a large field besides mere land-grants, an analysis of which cannot be given here, nor have we space to discuss the difficult question of the degree of credibility of many of the earliest deeds contained in them. Fortunately, the Museum has also thousands of original grants to religious houses, by which the authenticity of the chartularies may in some cases be checked. Chartularies and other registers, it may be added, are not only a class of document of which a large proportion remains unprinted, but also a class in the interpretation of which palæographical considerations play a very important part. For this reason even the most scholarly editing—and not all editions have been scholarly—cannot enable the student to dispense with consultation of the originals. Besides religious houses, attention may be drawn to the records of religious guilds, of which the records are few but important.

Parish registers begin from about 1538. The originals in the Museum are few, and their presence is due to exceptional circumstances. Modern transcripts have been acquired in increasing numbers of late years. There are several good lists published of existing parish registers which the student may consult, but it may be well to mention that there are in the Museum several registers of Nonconformist bodies in various

parts of England. Municipal corporations, for a variety of reasons, have been less able to keep their records together than ecclesiastical corporations. The frequent changes of their officers, the comparatively unlearned staff in most cases, in others the vicissitudes of their constitution, have contributed to this. There are instances in which a borough has ceased to exist, such as that of Dunwich, which has been washed away by encroachment of the sea. In the case of the Cinque Ports an external jurisdiction has interfered with the local custody of records. More often the negligence of the custodians has allowed records to pass into private hands. It is always worth while to ascertain whether some part of the records of a municipality has strayed into the Museum, albeit the chance of it is not great in any particular instance.

Manorial records, with which, for convenience, may be grouped the records of the courts of a hundred or wapentake, are a numerous and still growing class. The gradual extinction of copyhold tenure still goes on, and sets free the records of extinguished manors, many of which go back to the fourteenth, and not a few to the thirteenth, century, though those earlier than Edward I. are scarce and precious. It is unfortunate that no legal provision exists to secure the preservation of court-rolls and court-books. Their sale-value is scarcely high enough to ensure them against destruction as waste-paper or waste vellum, yet high enough to prevent the Museum, with its

inadequate funds, from being able to secure more than a small proportion of those that come into the market. Besides rolls of court the class includes customaries, rentals, surveys, and bailiffs' accout-rolls; and though the interest of these, and of the large collections of private deeds, may be said to belong primarily to topography and genealogy, rather than to history in the larger sense, the comparative study of them has still much to teach to the economist and legal historian, as well as indirect light to throw upon details of general history.

We next come to private archives, if the term "archives" be properly applicable to the correspondence, accounts, and miscellaneous papers of private families or individuals. The interest of such collections to the social historian has long been recognized, and is roughly proportional to the remoteness of the times with which the papers deal. The well-known Paston Letters are unfortunately almost a unique survival from the fifteenth century, and may still, even after Dr. Gairdner's excellent edition, yield valuable tailings. A considerable proportion of the originals are now in the British Museum, including most of the contents of vols. iii. to v. of Fenn's edition. For later centuries the mines are more extensive, and if the ore is not quite so precious, the lodes have been less thoroughly worked. The sixteenth-century part of the Paston archives is still inedited, but there are many others, among which may be mentioned the Gawdy Papers (1509-1751), the

Hatton Finch Papers (1514-1779), the Scudamore Papers (*temp.* Henry VIII.-1711), the Barrington Papers (1563-1688), as well as thousands of letters, worth study from this point of view, which are intermingled with the political correspondence in such collections as the Godolphin, Newcastle, Hardwicke, and Wyndham Papers, or among those series the chief interest of which is literary or scientific.

Of this last-mentioned class the collections are too numerous for me to attempt a list here, but some idea of the variety of the material may be given by mentioning the names of Sir Robert Cotton and William Camden amongst the Cotton MSS., Sir Simonds D'Ewes, G. J. Vossius, Humphrey Wanley, and Lord Oxford among the Harley MSS., Sir Hans Sloane and Dr. Thomas Birch in their own collections, Sir Henry Spelman, Lord Bolingbroke, Edmund Gibbon, John Wilkes, Sir Joseph Banks, Miss Berry, Leigh Hunt, Charles Babbage, Macvey Napier, Sir A. Panizzi, and Dr. Philip Bliss, among the Additional and Egerton MSS.

Though not archives, nor mainly consisting of correspondence, this is perhaps the most convenient place to notice the very valuable materials for the study of social conditions in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century accumulated by Francis Place. The work done upon them by Mr. Graham Wallas facilitates their use.

Besides English archives, we have to consider materials for English history from foreign archives,

public or private, and these may be either original or second-hand. Among the former class the papers of Cardinal Gualterio, Protector of the English Catholics and Nuncio (1700-1706) at the Court of France, are rich in information on the exiled Stuarts. The papers of Cardinal Henry Benedict Stuart (d. 1807) are less useful from this aspect, being mainly concerned with his ecclesiastical and private affairs. In the class of second-hand materials are the extensive series of transcripts by the Abbé Marino Marini from the Papal Registers (1216-1759), transferred in 1845 from the State Paper Office, and extracts made at the Trustees' expense from the Florentine archives and the Simancas archives for the relations of England with Tuscany and Spain respectively. Much of this, however, is now superseded by later and more scientific work. The Museum has more recently become the place of deposit for the large mass of transcripts used by the Government in the Venezuela and British Guiana boundary arbitration proceedings. To private enterprise are due the extracts from foreign archives for the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, made for Sir James Mackintosh and used in part by Lord Macaulay, and some extracts from the Hague archives made for S. R. Gardiner.

If it has not been easy to indicate what materials for English history to look for in the Museum, it is yet more difficult when foreign history is in question. The stores of such material in the Harley Collection are very considerable, and there

is a fair amount of Italian matter in the library which George III. bought from Joseph Smith, Consul at Venice, now in the King's MSS. The *relazioni* of Venetian Ambassadors and Papal Nuncii at the various Courts of Europe are well represented in the Royal and other collections, and in general the Museum authorities of the first half of Queen Victoria's reign, who had relatively larger sums to spend on the acquisition of manuscripts than their successors, were by no means neglectful of Italian and Spanish history. The dispersion in 1830 of the collections formed by Frederick North, fifth Earl of Guilford, afforded opportunities for acquiring much relating to Italy. Among the Spanish materials special notice is due to the Altamira family archives of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of which an arbitrarily divided section came to the Museum, while the rest remains in Spain. At the sale of Lord Stuart de Rothesay in 1855 the Museum obtained a large collection of laws and ordinances relating to the Portuguese Indies. As to France, the incredible industry with which transcripts of State Papers were multiplied there in manuscript in the seventeenth century is well known. This has benefited the Museum in several instances. Of the great series of sixteenth and seventeenth century papers made for H. A. de Loménie, Comte de Brienne, a duplicate series, made for Colbert, was acquired for the Museum by an exchange with the French Government in 1878, and there are many volumes of the

transcript made for the Chancellor Pierre Séguier (d. 1672) among the Harley MSS. The manuscripts mentioned in this paragraph are but a small proportion, and not necessarily the most important, of the foreign historical material, but the haphazard method in which most of the books in this class have been acquired renders it difficult to lay down principles, and it is impossible in our limits of space to particularize. Thousands of important letters of foreign persons of note have, of course, been obtained, singly or in batches, as autographs.

The space devoted to the discussion of archives and similar material leaves me little or none for the consideration of actual historical works, whether of mediæval chroniclers or later historians, or for any of the numerous classes of works of general literature. The student here will generally have less difficulty in determining what he wants, and the consideration of how to find it will be the subject of the next section.

Meanwhile something must be said of another very voluminous section of the Department's contents, the topographical collections. Probably there is no class of literary work on which so much amateur labour has been spent as topographical history. Little original work of this kind has been remunerative. Second and third hand compilations, based on the labour of others, have doubtless paid their way, but in the main the investigation has been a labour of love. For the cost of printing the author has had to depend on the subscription-list and the patronage of land-

owners. The huge volumes of the old county historians are a remarkable proof of what could be accomplished by this means, but there were great disadvantages in the system. Writers were driven into attempting works too big for a lifetime, and were compelled to devote disproportionate space to the history of the families on whose patronage they relied. Too often the subscription-list failed, or the author died with his work unfinished. To-day things are rather better. The growth of publishing societies, and the multiplication of public libraries which subscribe to them, afford a means of distributing the cost among more numerous and less wealthy patrons, and these represent a greater variety of interests. The old system, however, has left us immense stores of unpublished work, amateurish, no doubt, most of them, in quality, but the fruit of untiring industry. There is still occupation for some generations to make full use of such collections as those of the Randle Holmes for Cheshire, Baker and Cole for Cambridge, and in more recent times Elisha Davy for Suffolk, Streatfeild for Kent, and Eyton for Shropshire. Of these Davy and Eyton rank in a higher class than the others. On a smaller scale, or with specialized aims, the topographical compilations are innumerable. With rubbings of monumental brasses, the wealth of which in this country must be the envy of all foreign antiquaries, the Museum is well stocked. Copies of sepulchral inscriptions, bell inscriptions, and the like, are very plentiful. In addition, it is

necessary to point out, what might otherwise not occur to the student, that the Department of Manuscripts, and not the Department of Prints and Drawings, is the normal place of deposit in the Museum for drawings of churches and other buildings, the interest of which is primarily topographical and not artistic. Of such drawings there are many thousands. It is not, however, to be understood that this Department is the sole place in the Museum to look for such things. Besides the Department of Prints, the Department of Printed Books has also possibilities for the purpose, not only in the shape of extra-illustrated copies of county histories and the like, but also in the subdepartment of maps, in whose charge are all the topographical drawings, as well as plans, etc., belonging to George III.'s collection (the King's maps).

Lastly, as to genealogical material, in this field, more than perhaps any other, the student will find himself overburdened with the quantity of material the Museum can place before him. The quality of it, on the other hand, leaves much to be desired. Were it possible to adopt the view supposed to be held by some of our official genealogists, that a pedigree registered by the Heralds' College is a pedigree, and other pedigrees are nought, the problem would be simple. But this solution, whatever else it may be, is not history. We know too much of the evidences accepted by official heralds to care much about the distinction between registered and unregistered descents, and unfortunately very few of the thousands of volumes of genealogy

in the Museum, whether copied from visitations or not, can be regarded by the scientific genealogist as more than hints for search among more authentic records, and the false scents upon which he is often led tend to dull his gratitude for the other occasions upon which he is put on the right line. For the study of the fascinating but very difficult subject of early heraldry, which has a more genuine interest to the historian, the Museum has much valuable material in early rolls of arms, as well as arms in manuscripts and on seals.

HOW TO FIND MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

The printed general catalogues of the manuscript collections in the Department which are in ordinary use amount to more than thirty volumes, as will be seen in Appendix A, and are of widely different dates, covering a period of nearly two centuries. Naturally, therefore, they represent very different standards in the arts of cataloguing and indexing. The older catalogues especially are coloured by the idiosyncrasies of the scholars who made them. The process of bringing up to date the older catalogues is carried on, even in war-time, concurrently with the cataloguing of new acquisitions, but progress is of necessity slow. We have an ever-increasing demand for fuller description and greater scientific accuracy of detail, but, what is more burdensome, the bibliography of the multifarious contents of our manuscripts grows continually with accelerating

speed. Especially has this been the case since the coming of cheaper methods of photography. Students at a distance can now by this means study and edit texts without such long periods of personal attendance and laborious copying in the Museum itself. Cotton and Harley MSS. furnish matter every year for University dissertations and for the study of flourishing professional classes in cities of which those collectors and the cataloguers of their collections never dreamed. Seeing, then, that the bulk of the catalogues is so great, and that no custodian of a library of this magnitude can possibly have even a slight acquaintance with every book in his charge, some kind of subject-index to the collections as a whole is almost a necessity both for the staff and the public. Yet anything approaching to a perfect subject-index for matter so varied and so variously catalogued presents almost insuperable difficulties. Even a unified nominal-index to all the collections, though it is in contemplation, has to be postponed for the present. The recataloguing of the older collections is an indispensable, or at any rate a highly desirable, preliminary to this work, and is from many points of view more urgent. Tiresome though it be to look through some two dozen different indexes to find a particular name, it can be done within a reasonable time; but the result, positive or negative, is only satisfactory if there is some uniformity in the method upon which the indexes have been made. Often, however, it is not a name that the student wants, but a period or a subject. To a certain extent the Museum

system of indexing, as developed in the *Catalogue of Additions* and some other of the more recent catalogues, is designed to meet his needs even in this case. These indexes are not mere lists of personal or place names, but include subject-headings such as Army, Navy, Revenue, Accompts, Political Tracts, Poetry, and many others, a useful list of which is prefixed to the general index of the *Catalogue of Additions* for 1853-1875. Specially valuable are the headings for names of countries, which take the form **England**, *Sovereigns of*, and *Events in particular Reigns*. But there are many purposes for which none of them are effective. Moreover, the comparison of entries in different indexes for subject-headings is much more difficult than in the case of names. It is not possible to have all the indexes open before one at once, so as to sort them at once at a glance.

Fortunately the student who works in the Department itself is not left entirely without help in this matter. On entering the Students' Room he is at once face to face with a press containing not merely a set of the thirty and odd volumes of the general catalogues, but also more than a hundred large folio volumes, constructed with the aid of scissors and paste, which constitute what is called the Class Catalogue. This institution, not exactly paralleled in any other library known to me, is, I am inclined to think, peculiarly English in its merits and defects. Nothing is easier than to find fault with the scheme of it on the score of logic and balance. There is scarcely a page which does not

of itself afford evidence of inaccuracies and inconsistencies which call aloud for correction. And yet, as a general subject-index, it has the great merit of existence in the present and not in a far and uncertain future. To Sir Edward Bond, under whose keepership it took shape, we must give the credit for a sound appreciation of the truth that any catalogue is better than none, and also for a genius in the discovery of makeshifts not only useful for the time, but capable of continuous development and improvement. Of earlier attempts at partial class-catalogues, such as that adopted in Ayscough's Catalogue of the Sloane and Early Additional MSS. and the more elaborate scheme in the Harley index, it is not necessary to speak. They cannot be pronounced successful. But Sir E. Bond's method, with all its defects, has more than justified itself. He did not, unfortunately, anticipate the discovery of the loose-leaf ledger—the card-index appears less capable of use on this scale—but by cutting up the descriptions—not, as a rule, the indexes—of the various catalogues and distributing them according to a comprehensive scheme he enabled similar matter to be brought together. The heavy wear to which the volumes have been subjected testifies to their utility in practice, but also threatens to abridge the period of that utility, and the future development of the Class Catalogue will doubtless be on the lines of special catalogues, of which the three volumes of the Catalogue of Romances already issued may be taken as a specimen. Part of the topographical section of the catalogue is likely to

be the subject of a future experiment very shortly, and the State Papers are also being taken in hand.

In the meantime the catalogue as it stands forms a series of volumes classified as below. A (not very adequate) alphabetical index of subheadings forms a separate volume.

VOLS.

- 1-3, History.
- 4, Public Records.
- 5, 6, Church History.
- 7, 7*, State Papers, collected.
- 8-10, State Papers, single.
- 11, Political Tracts.
- 12, 13, Public Revenue, Establishments, Accounts.
- 14, Trade.
- 15-28, Single State Letters.
- 29, Private Letters, collected.
- 30-42, Private Letters, single, in four series: British and Foreign, before and after 1600.
- 43, Civil and Canon Law.
- 44-48, Law and Parliament.
- 49, Naval.
- 50, Military.
- 51-57, Biography and Genealogy.
- 58-62, Geography and Topography.
- 63-68, Peerages and Heraldry.

VOLS.

- 69-73, Theology.
- 74, 75, Bibles and Commentaries (also Greek Service-Books).
- 76, 77, Service-Books (Western).
- 78, Lives of Saints (prose).
- 79, 80, Religious Orders and Monasteries.
- 81, Philosophy and Philology.
- 82, Bibliography and Antiquities.
- 83, 84, Greek and Latin Classics.
- 85, Greek General Literature.
- 86-90, Poetry.
- 91, Poetry and Drama.
- 92, 93, 93*, Art.
- 94, Music.
- 95-98, Mathematics and Natural Sciences.
- 99-101, Medicine.
- 102, 103, 103*, Owners.
- 104, Donors.
- 107, Dated MSS., Scribes, etc.

[Vols. 105, 106, 109, 110, represent a temporary nominal index of seals, now placed with the manuscript descriptions of charters at the other end of the room.]

One or two cautions as to the use of the Class Catalogue may be added here, though they might be inferred from the method of its composition. In the first place, since the complete description of the manuscript has usually to be cut up into several portions for insertion in different volumes, the use of the Class Catalogue does not dispense with

consultation of the original catalogue. Secondly, since only the descriptions, not the index, to most of the catalogues have been cut up, and volumes of correspondence, etc., have been much more fully treated of late years in the indexes than in the descriptions, the absence of a name in the Class Catalogue does not imply that it is not to be found in the indexes. This caution is especially necessary when seeking for an autograph. The Class Catalogue volumes for private letters, though useful as far as they go, are not to be taken as evidence that no autograph letter of any particular writer is to be found in the collections.

Finally, it may be well to draw the student's attention to a provision in the 'Trustees' regulations which has become somewhat more important since the last Copyright Act. It reads as follows: "There is no restriction on copying Manuscripts; but the Trustees take no responsibility for any possible infringement of copyright in publication."

Visitors to the public galleries of the Museum should hardly need to have their attention directed to the official *Guides to Exhibited MSS.*, but much pains has been spent in recent years upon making them more useful by the fulness of the descriptions and by general introductions. The student as well as the sightseer will find that he has something to learn from them, and that the photographs alone are worth the extremely low price of 6d., 6d. and 4d. at which the three parts are now issued.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF COLLECTIONS IN THE MANUSCRIPT
DEPARTMENT

- Cotton MSS.*—Gift by Sir John Cotton, 1700. Press-marks, Julius A.I.—Faustina F.X. and Appendix I.—LXV. Chief sources, collections by Sir Robert (1571–1631) and Sir Thomas Cotton (1594–1662). *Catalogues*, T. Smith, 1696 (still useful for damaged MSS.), and J. Planta, 1802.
- Harley MSS.*—Purchase from Countess of Oxford and Mortimer and Duchess of Portland, 1753. Press-marks, Harley 1–7660. Chief sources, purchases by Robert (1661–1742) and Edward Harley (1689–1741), 1st and 2nd Earls of Oxford, including the library of Sir Simonds D'Ewes (1602–1650). *Catalogue*, H. Wanley and others, compiled 1708–1762, reprinted with some revision, 1809.
- Sloane MSS.*—Purchase from executors of Sir Hans Sloane, 1753. Press-marks, Sloane 1–4100 and Additional (or Sloane) 5018–5027, 5214–5308. Source, collections of Sir H. Sloane (1660–1753). *Catalogue*, S. Ayscough, 1782. Fuller catalogue in proof (1–1091, *circ.* 1837) and MS. *Index* (1–4100), E. J. L. Scott, 1904.
- Royal MSS.*—Gift of George II., 1757. Press-marks, 1 A. I.–20 E. X. and Appendix 1–89. Chief sources, purchases by and gifts to Sovereigns from Edward IV. to George II., spoils of the monasteries, purchases from libraries of John, Lord Lumley (*circ.* 1534–1609), Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), John Theyer (1597–1673). *Catalogue* (forthcoming), 1920.
- King's MSS.*—Gift of George IV., 1823. Press-marks, King's 1–446. Chief sources, purchases by and gifts to George III., including the library of Joseph Smith, Consul at Venice, bought in 1763. *Catalogue* (forthcoming), 1920.
- Birch MSS.*—Bequest by Rev. Tho. Birch, D.D., 1765. Press-marks, Additional (or Birch) 4101–4478. Collections by Dr. Birch (1705–1766). *Catalogue*, S. Ayscough, 1782 (see Sloane MSS.). Fuller catalogue MS. (new catalogue in preparation).
- Lansdowne MSS.*—Purchase from exors. of Marquess of Lansdowne, 1807. Press-marks, Lansdowne 1–1245. Chief sources, papers (Lansd. 1–122) of William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1520–1598), collections of Sir J. Cæsar (1558–1636) White Kennett (1660–1728), Philip Carteret Webb (1700–1770), James West (1704–1772), and Lord Shelburne (1737–1805, Marquess of Lansdowne, 1784). *Catalogue*, 1819.

✓ *Hargrave MSS.*—Purchase from trustees of Francis Hargrave, K.C., 1813. Press-marks, Hargrave 1-514. Source, legal collections of F. Hargrave (1741-1821). *Catalogue*, 1818.

✓ *Burney MSS.*—Purchase from exors. of Charles Burney, D.D., 1818. Press-marks, Burney 1-524. Source, collections, chiefly classical, of Dr. C. Burney (1757-1817). *Catalogue*, 1840.

✓ *Egerton MSS.*—Bequest of Francis Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater, 1829, and purchases from funds provided by him and augmented by Charles Long, Lord Farnborough (d. 1838), to present time. Press-marks, Egerton 1-3026 (1919). Descriptions to 1835 (Eg. 1-606) in annual *Reports* of the Museum (new catalogue in preparation); index in *Index to Add. MSS. 1782-1835*, 1849. From 1836 onwards in *Catalogues of Additions*.

✓ *Arundel MSS.*—Purchase from Royal Society, 1831. Press-marks, Arundel 1-550. Source, collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1592-1646). *Catalogue*, 1834; *Index*, 1840.

✓ *Stowe MSS.*—Purchase from Earl of Ashburnham, 1883. Press-marks, Stowe 1-1085. Sources, collections of Arthur Capell, Earl of Essex (1632-1683), Thomas Astle (1735-1803), Charles O'Connor (1764-1828), and the 1st Marquess of Buckingham (1783-1813). *Catalogue*, 1895.

Additional MSS.—Gifts and purchases. Press-marks, Additional 4101-39904 (1919), following upon the Sloane numeration, and including the Birch MSS. (4101-4473) and omitted Sloane Nos. 5018-5027, 5214-5308. *Catalogue*, to 1782 (Add. 5017), included in Ayscough, 1782 (see Sloane MSS.), fuller catalogue in MS. (new catalogue in preparation); from 1783-1835 descriptions MS. or in *Museum Reports*; *Index*, 1849; from 1836 in *Catalogues of Additions*.

[NOTE.—Most of the above collections included in their numeration, before the separation of a special Department of Oriental MSS. and Printed Books, a few MSS. in Oriental languages. These have all been transferred to the new department, except those in the Egerton Collection, which remain in the care of the Keeper of MSS. as Egerton Librarian.]

Papyri.—Gifts and purchases. Press-marks, Papyrus 1-2102 (1919); Greek and Latin documents found in Egypt by the Egypt Exploration Fund or other excavators. *Catalogues of Papyri*, vols. i.-v., 1893-1917; summary inventory of additions since 1906 in *Catalogues of Additions*.

✓ *Cotton Charters and Rolls*; *Harley Charters and Rolls*; *Sloane Charters*; *Lansdowne Charters*.—Gift or purchase, as in case of MSS., see above. Press-marks, Cotton Augustus II. 1-136 and Cotton Ch. I.-XXX. 41; Harley Ch. 43 A. 1-77, H. 50, 112 I. 62, and Harley Rolls A. 1-DD. 5; Sloane Ch. xxxi. 1-xxxiv. 1a. Lansdowne Ch. 1-695. Descriptions and personal index MS. Topographically indexed in *Index to Charters and Rolls*, vols. i., ii. (1900, 1912).

Royal Rolls.—Royal MSS. 14 B. I.—14 B. LII. Included in new *Catalogue of Royal and King's MSS.*, as above. Topographically indexed also in *Index to Charters and Rolls*, i., ii., as above.

Topham Charters.—Purchase at sale of library of John Topham, 1804. Press-marks, Topham Ch. 1–56. Descriptions and personal index MS. Topographically indexed in *Index to Charters and Rolls*, i., ii., as above.

Campbell Charters.—Gift from Lord Frederick Campbell, 1814. Press-marks, Campbell Ch. I. 1–XXX. 22. Descriptions and personal index MS. Topographically indexed in *Index to Charters and Rolls*, i., ii., as above.

Wolley Charters.—Bequest of Adam Wolley, 1826. Press-marks, Wolley Ch. I. 1–XII. 144. Descriptions and personal index MS. Topographically indexed in *Index to Charters and Rolls*, i., ii., as above.

Church Briefs.—Gift of John Stevenson Salt, 1829. Press-marks, Church Briefs, A. I. 1–C. VIII. 3. Inventory MS. Topographically indexed in *Index to Charters and Rolls*, i., ii., as above.

Egerton Charters.—Bequest and purchase, as Egerton MSS. Press-marks, Egerton Ch. 1–2115 (1919). Descriptions and personal index MS. Topographically indexed (to 1900, Eg. Ch. 621) in *Index to Charters and Rolls*, i., ii., as above.

Stowe Charters.—Purchase, as Stowe MSS. Press-marks, Stowe Ch. 1–646. *Catalogue*, with Stowe MSS., 1895. Topographically indexed also in *Index to Charters and Rolls*, ii.

Additional Charters and Rolls.—Gifts and purchases. Press-marks, Additional Ch. 1–62321 (1918). Descriptions and personal index MS. Topographically indexed (to 1900, Add. Ch. 47597) in *Index to Charters and Rolls*, i., ii., as above. Summary inventory of later acquisitions in *Catalogues of Additions*.

Detached Seals and Casts.—Gifts and purchases. Press-marks, i. 1–clxiv. 37 (1918). Descriptions of these and also of seals attached to charters in the above collections in *Catalogue of Seals*, W. de G. Birch, vols. i.–vi., 1887–1900. Personal index MS. Summary inventory of later acquisitions in *Catalogues of Additions*.

NOTE.—The following special catalogues should be consulted for the classes of MS. to which they refer, so far as acquired at the date of compilation:

Catalogue of Ancient MSS. Part I., Greek (to A.D. 900), 1881.

Catalogue of Ancient MSS. Part II., Latin (chiefly before A.D. 900), 1884.

✓ Catalogue of Spanish MSS., P. de Gayangos, vols. i.–iv., 1875–1893.

Catalogue of Irish MSS., S. O'Grady and R. Flower, in preparation (partly printed).

✓ Catalogue of Romances, H. L. D. Ward and J. A. Herbert, vols. i.-iii., 1887-1910.

✓ Catalogue of MS. Music, A. Hughes-Hughes, vols. i.-iii., 1908-1909.

Catalogue of MS. Maps, Charts, Plans, and Topographical Drawings, vols. i., ii., 1844; vol. iii., printed but not published (a copy available in Dept.), 1861.

Catalogue of Icelandic MSS., H. L. D. Ward, MS., 1864.

Of non-official publications the following, amongst others, will be found useful:

R. Priebisch, *Deutsche Handschriften in England*, Bd. ii., 1901.

Historical MSS. Commission, *MSS. in the Welsh Language in the British Museum*, 1910.

Sir T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (Rolls Series) 3 vols. (to 1327), 1862-1871.

C. McL. Andrews and F. G. Davenport, *MS. Materials for the History of the United States in the British Museum*, etc., 1908.

Edw. Owen, *Catalogue of MSS. in the British Museum relating to Wales* (Cymmrodorion Society), 3 vols., 1900-1908.

APPENDIX B

ROUGH LISTS OF SOME OF THE STATESMEN AND OTHERS WHOSE PAPERS (CORRESPONDENCE, LETTER-BOOKS, ETC.), IN WHOLE OR IN PART, ARE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

The offices named are for identification only, not a list of the offices held, or with which the papers are concerned. Extreme dates given in List I. are approximate, and in many cases cover earlier or later papers only indirectly connected with the statesman's career

I.—SECRETARIES OF STATE AND OTHER HIGH OFFICERS FROM *temp.* EDW. VI.

Sir Will. Cecil, Ld. Burghley (Ld. Treas. 1572-1598)	1547-1598
Henry Cary, Visc. Falkland (Ld.-Dep. of Irel. 1622-1629)	1628-1629
Sir Edw. Nicholas (Sec. of St. 1641-1649, 1654-1662)	1560-1669
Joh. Maitland, D. of Lauderdale (Sec. of St. Scotl. 1661-1682)	1582-1682

Sir Rob. Southwell (Clk. to P.C. 1664-1679, Ch. Sec. Irel. 1690-1702)	1659-1697
Hen. Coventry (Sec. of St. 1672-1680)	1672-1680
Tho. Osborne, E. of Danby, D. of Leeds (Ld. Treas. 1673-1679)	1673-1711
Edw. Conway, 1st E. of Conway (Sec. of St. 1681-1683)	1680-1683
Will. Blathwayt (Sec. at War 1683-1704).. ..	1660-1704
Hen. Hyde, 2nd E. of Clarendon (Ld.-Lt. of Irel. 1685-1687)	1675-1709
J. Robethon (Priv. Sec. to William III. and Geo. I.)	1692-1719
Joh. Ellis (Under-Sec. of St. 1695-1705)	1643-1720
Edw. Southwell (Clk. to P.C. 1699-1730)	1703-1727
Laur. Hyde, E. of Rochester (Ld.-Lt. of Irel. 1701-1703)	1675-1709
Dan. Finch, 2nd E. of Nottingham (Sec. of St. 1702-1704)	1694-1725
Sid. Godolphin, 1st E. of Godolphin (Ld. Treas. 1702-1710)	1669-1712
Jas. Butler, 2nd D. of Ormonde (Ld.-Lt. of Irel. 1703-1707, 1710-1713)	1703-1719
Hen. Boyle, Ld. Carleton (Sec. of St.)	1709
Jas. Stanhope, 1st E. Stanhope (Sec. of St. 1714-1717)	1716
Chas. Townshend, 2nd V. Townshend (Sec. of St. 1714-1717, 1721-1730)	1709-1726
James Craggs (Sec. of St. 1718-1721)	1695-1720
Joh. Carteret, 1st E. Granville (Sec. of St. 1721-1724, 1742-1744, 1746)	1719-1745
Philip Yorke, 1st E. of Hardwicke (Ld. Chanc. 1737-1756)	1723-1763
Tho. Pelham-Holles, D. of Newcastle (1st Ld. Treas. 1754-1756, 1757-1762)	1697-1768
Hon. Hen. Seymour Conway (Sec. of St. 1765-1768)	1766
Hon. Chas. Yorke (Ld. Chanc. 1770)	1740-1770
Chas. Jenkinson, 1st E. of Liverpool (Sec. at War 1778-1782)	1718-1807
Will. Eden, 1st Ld. Auckland (Ch. Sec. Irel. 1780-1782)	1660-1833
Fra. Godolphin Osborne, 5th D. of Leeds (Sec. of St. 1783-1791)	1756-1798
Philip Yorke, 3rd E. of Hardwicke (Ld.-Lt. of Irel. 1801-1806)	1778-1831
Nich. Vansittart, Lord Bexley (Ch. Sec. Irel. 1805, Chanc. Exch. 1812-1823)	1793-1835
Will. Windham (Sec. of St. for War 1806-1807) ..	1782-1810

Rich. Colley Wellesley, M. Wellesley (Sec. of St. 1809-1812)	1773-1842
Rob. Banks Jenkinson, 2nd E. of Liverpool (1st Ld. Treas. 1812-1827)	1797-1828
Will. Huskisson (Sec. of St. 1827-1828)	1790-1831
Sir Rob. Peel, 2nd Bart. (1st Ld. Treas. 1834, 1841- 1846)	<i>not yet available</i>

II.—AMBASSADORS, ENVOYS, ETC.

To France :

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, 1559-1564.
 Sir Hen. Unton, 1591-1592.
 Sir Tho. Edmondes, 1592-1599 and 1610-1617.
 Sir Rob. Cecil, 1597-1598.
 James Hay, Visc. Doncaster, 1622-1623.
 John Scudamore, Visc. Scudamore, 1635-1639.
 Sir Rich. Browne, 1641-1660.
 Ralph Montagu, 1669.
 Edw. Villiers, E. of Jersey, 1669-1699.
 Horatio Walpole, Ld. Walpole of Wolterton, 1725-1726.
 Will. Anne Keppel, E. of Albemarle, 1749-1754.
 Sir Jos. Yorke (Sec. of Emb.), 1749-1751.
 Hans Stanley, 1761.
 Will. Eden, 1786-1787.

To German Courts :

Sir Walter Vane, Prussia, 1665-1666.
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 1714-1716.
 Tho. Wentworth, E. of Strafford, Prussia, 1703.
 Chas. Whitworth, Ld. Whitworth, Vienna, 1704, and
 Prussia, 1716-1717, 1719-1722.
 Sir Tho. Robinson, Ld. Grantham, Vienna, 1730-1748.
 Rob. Keith, Vienna, 1748-1757.
 David Murray, Vienna, 1765-1772.
 Sir Rob. Murray Keith, Dresden, 1769-1771; Vienna, 1772-
 1792.
 Ld. Henry John Spencer, Prussia, 1795.

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 Col. Henry Sydney, Hague, 1679-1681.
 Edw. Villiers, E. of Jersey, Hague, 1697.

Alex. Stanhope, Hague, 1700-1705.
Jas. Dayrolle, Hague, 1706-1712, 1717-1738.
Tho. Wentworth, E. of Strafford, Hague, 1711-1714.
Chas. Boyle, 4th E. of Orrery, Utrecht, 1711-1714.
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**A SHORT GUIDE
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PREFACE

1880-21
There is a description of the MSS. in the Supplement to the Second Report of the Irish Record Commissioners, by Dr. J. Barrett; and in the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fourth Report, pp. 588-99, and the Eighth Report, pp. 572-85, by Sir J. T. Gilbert. The most important of the unpublished catalogues of the MSS. are those of J. Lyon, c. 1745, and of H. J. Monck Mason, c. 1814. These Dr. T. K. Abbott used in the catalogue he issued in 1890, which is the most extensive one available for the reader at a distance. There are, however, many omissions in it. For example, there is a collection of 450 deeds of land granted during the twelfth century, chiefly in Norfolk, though some deeds refer to London and Dublin, but it is uncatalogued. This is the more surprising, for Dr. Monck Mason bestows no less than 113 pages on this collection. Dr. Monck Mason calendars the Clarke Correspondence, which covers the critical years 1690-92, devoting 108 pages to his excellent account; yet Dr. Abbott does not mention this

piece of work, giving, moreover, the wrong date for the end of this correspondence. It is the duty of the Board of the College to publish an adequate catalogue of the MSS.

I desire to tender my thanks to Mr. J. Gilbert Smyly, Litt.D., Mr. A. C. De Burgh, Mr. Brambell, and Mr. M. Esposito, for the assistance they have been good enough to give me.

ROBERT H. MURRAY.

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A SHORT GUIDE TO SOME MSS. IN THE LIBRARY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

IN January, 1593, Trinity College was opened for the admission of students. In 1601 the library began with a subscription from the officers and soldiers of Queen Elizabeth's army, who desired to commemorate their victory over the Spanish and Irish troops at the Battle of Kinsale. According to Dr. N. Bernard, "then souldiers were for the advancement of learning." We hope that this is a true reading of their motives. Still, we note the fact that the money was taken "out of their arrears of pay." With this contribution Dr. L. Chaloner and James Ussher, afterwards Primate, went to London in 1603 for the purpose of buying books. There they met Sir T. Bodley, and between them, says Bernard, "there was a commerce in supplying each other with rarities." In 1600 there were forty volumes in the library; in 1604 there were 4,900, and this increase was the result of the labours of Chaloner and Ussher. The 1600 list notes the names of seventeen MSS.* In 1635 Brereton, the Parliamentary General,

* Dr. J. K. Ingram gives the list of them in his "Library of Trinity College, Dublin" (1884), p. 16.

paid a visit to the College, noting that "they glory much in their library, whereof I took a full view, and there were showed unto me many manuscripts; one they highly esteem, which they call Friar Bacon's work."*

Ussher was a born collector. He had, according to his biographer Parr, a kind of laudable covetousness for books, and never thought a good book, either manuscript or print, too dear. He intended to bequeath his collection to his College, but he suffered such severe losses during the rebellion of 1641 and at the hands of the Puritans that he was obliged to leave it to his daughter, Lady Tyrrell. Parr tells us that the King of Denmark and Mazarin made offers for it. By an Order in Council Cromwell refused to permit the sale abroad, and ultimately it was purchased by the Parliamentary army in Ireland for £2,200. This second gift of the army raised the rank of the library to the first class. Ussher had gathered 10,000 volumes, prints and MSS., and these at last arrived in the place their owner had destined for them. Bishop Berkeley notes in 1722 that the library "is at present cold and ruinous, and the books so out of order, that there is little attendance given." Still, the MSS. room was not altogether neglected. Bishop Henry Jones presented the "Book of Durrow." In 1674 Sir Jerome Alexander, a Justice of the Common Pleas, gave some valuable MSS., and Bishop Stearne also added to them. Stearne's collection

* Roger Bacon's "Opus Maius," which is still in the collection.

included that of Dr. John Madden, President of the College of Physicians, and a catalogue of it was printed in Dr. Bernard's "Catalogus Manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ." Among the notable purchases of Madden rank the thirty-three folio volumes of the Depositions of the Sufferers by the Rebellion of 1641. These had been in the custody of Matthew Barry, clerk of the Council, and after the easy fashion of the seventeenth century he regarded these documents as his private property. Madden bought them, and they then fell into the hands of Stearne. From the latter also came many letters and documents bearing on the history of Ireland, 1647-79. In 1682 Dr. Huntingdon presented some Oriental MSS.

Sir John Sebright acquired the Irish books which belonged to Edward Lhuyd, and at the suggestion of Edmund Burke* he gave them to the College in 1786. They included such books as "Brehon Law Commentaries," the "Book of Leinster," and other books which form the glory of this great Celtic collection, containing *inter alia* the "Cattle Foray of Cualgne," the "Dindsenchas," the "Book of Hymns" (edited by Provost Bernard and Dr. Atkinson), and the "Annals of Ulster."† This is not the only evidence of the catholicity of the taste of Burke. He gave the "Bûstân" of Sa'di, adding this note: "Bostaan, The Garden, a moral

See his letter to Vallancey, August 15, 1783.

† Mr. E. J. Gwynn is recataloguing the Irish MSS. There are notes on them in Mr. R. I. Best's valuable "Bibliography of Irish Philology and of Printed Irish Literature."

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poem of Sadi, highly esteemed in every part of Asia: humbly and respectfully presented to the College of the Holy Trinity near Dublin, as a testimony of my Duty and Gratitude to that learn'd body, in which I had the happiness to receive my education. Beaconsfield, December 5, 1794, by me Edm^d. Burke."

The Elizabethan and Cromwellian wars benefited the library: so, too, did the Napoleonic. When the French invaded Holland in 1794, M. Greffr Fagel, Pensionary of Holland, removed his library of more than 20,000 volumes for sale to England: it included MSS. and a fine collection of old maps. In 1802 the Board of Erasmus Smith bought it for £10,000, and presented it to the College. Perhaps the most important item in the Fagel Library is the set of MSS. volumes dealing with the history of France during the reign of Louis XV.

In 1854, through the enterprise of the Rev. W. Reeves, afterwards Bishop of Down, and the generosity of the Primate, Lord John George Beresford, the College acquired that notable possession, the "Book of Armagh." Interesting as this is to Irishmen, the next bequest is of wider attraction. In 1854 Dr. C. W. Wall, the Vice-Provost, bought, through the Rev. Dr. R. C. Gibbings, sixty-six volumes of the original Records of the Inquisition at Rome. Napoleon entertained the plan of gathering the contents of the archives of all the conquered countries in Paris, and from 1809 it was set in operation. About 400 tons of documents

were taken from Rome to Paris. At the Restoration the bulk of these documents returned to their old home. The volumes, containing the proceedings of the Holy Office, were torn "into the tiniest pieces," immersed in the water in the presence of Monsignor Marino Marini, and then sold to the papermakers. As the papermakers received 4,300 francs, it is evident that the quantity of documents thus destroyed was enormous. How these sixty-six volumes escaped is not known. They may have remained in Paris when the rest were restored to the Italian ecclesiastical authorities, coming into the possession of the Duke of Manchester, from whom Dr. Wall bought them. No student of the growth of toleration can afford to neglect these records. In 1857 Charles Count de Meuron gave a number of volumes which deal with the history of the Swiss Reformation in general and with that of Geneva in particular. In them are letters of Calvin, the process against Servetus, and the like.

BIBLICAL MANUSCRIPTS.

There have been many other donors, but this must suffice for a history of the collection, and we now glance at the contents. Among the Biblical MSS. there are two Greek texts of engrossing interest. One is the palimpsest, known as Z, in which an uncial text of portions of St. Matthew's Gospel has been partially covered with more recent writings containing extracts from ecclesiastical

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authors. The original text dates from the fourth century, and the extracts from the thirteenth. In the volume containing Z there are palimpsest fragments of Isaiah, probably of an earlier date than the sixth century. The other Greek text is the Codex Montfortianus, and is not earlier than the fifteenth century, and possesses little critical value, containing 1 John v. 7. On its authority Erasmus admitted this verse into his third edition, and thence into the received text. Among the important Latin versions of the New Testament stands the Codex Usserianus, a manuscript of the Gospels written about the sixth century. Time and either fire or water have injured it so much that there is not a single perfect page; it is defective at the beginning and the end. The text belongs to the Hiberno-British recension: the text of the *pericope de adultera* agrees with the Vulgate.

There are several copies, executed in Ireland, of the Gospels in Latin according to the Vulgate version. Among the finest is the "Book of Kells," so called from Kells, co. Meath, in which monastery it had been preserved and probably written. The text possesses little critical value: the illustrations are a joy for all time to come. The extreme variety of artistic adornment and the skill displayed justify the opinion of Professor Westwood that it is "the most beautiful book in the world." The initials of the Gospels are as perfect-looking as when they were executed over 1,100 years ago.

"If you look closely," writes Giraldus Cambrensis, "and penetrate to the secrets of the art, you will discover such delicate and subtle lines, so closely wrought, so twisted and interwoven, and adorned with such colours still so fresh, that you will acknowledge that all this is the work rather of angelic than of human skill. The more frequently and carefully I examine it, I am always amazed with new beauties, and always discover things more and more admirable."*

The "Book of Kells"† used to be known as the "Gospel" or "Book of Columcille," in honour of this saint. The fury of the Northmen compelled the monks of Iona to desert their old home and to find a new one at Kells. The "Book of Kells" remained at Kells till 1541, when the last abbot, Richard Plunket, gave up the abbey and its property. In 1568 the MS. was in the hands of Gerald Plunket, a harbour-master of Dublin. That omnivorous collector, Ussher, acquired it, and from his library it finally entered the walls of Trinity College. It survived the raids of the Northmen to fall a victim to an ignorant bookbinder who, a hundred years ago, trimmed the edges of the leaves, thereby destroying some of the wonderful illuminations. In its trimmed condition the MS. consists of 339 leaves of thick glazed vellum. As a rule there are seventeen to nineteen lines in a

* "Typographia Hiberniæ," ii., c. 38.

† Cf. T. K. Abbott, "Evangeliorum versio Antehieronymiana ex Cod. Usseriano" (London, 1884).

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page. It is written in red, yellow, black, and purple inks. There were at least two artists. It contains the four Gospels, a fragment of the interpretation of Hebrew names, the Eusebian canons, summaries or argumenta of the Gospels, and some charters, bestowing grants of land from Muirtach O'Laghlan and others on the Abbey of Kells, the Church of Kells, and the Bishop of Meath: these charters date from 1024 to the twelfth century. There is no colophon. Still, there are clues to the time at which it was written. The text conforms to the Hieronymian, thus indicating an age later than that of the "Book of Durrow." Dr. Abbott and Dr. Zimmermann assign it to the eighth century, while Mr. R. A. S. Macalister inclines to put its date in the middle of the following century.

The "Book of Durrow"* is so called from Durrow in King's County, where, according to Bede, St. Columba had founded a *nobile monasterium*. Durrow, like Kells, was a Columban institution. It contains the four Gospels in the Vulgate version, an explanation of Hebrew names, the Eusebian canons, the Epistle of St. Jerome to Damasus, the Bishop of Rome, and the "Breves Causae," or summaries of the Gospels. At the end of these summaries there is a colophon which declares: "I pray thy blessed, O holy presbyter, Patrick, that whosoever shall take this book into his hand

* Cf. T. K. Abbott, "Evangeliorum versio Antehieronymiana ex Cod. Usseriano" (London, 1884).

may remember the writer, Columba, who have (for myself) written this Gospel in the space of twelve days, by the grace of our Lord." The text is exquisitely written, and could not have been finished in anything like twelve days. What, then, does the colophon mean? It simply means, as Dr. Abbott has pointed out,* that the colophon was copied out by the scribe from the archetype he was using. The "Book of Durrow" used to possess a cover, now lost, on which was an inscription stating that it had been made by Flann, son of Malachy, King of Ireland. Flann made this shrine between the years 879 and 916. In his time this MS. was looked on with veneration as a reliquary. The date of this book is from the end of the sixth to the middle of the seventh century: it is the earliest extant Irish MS. In the body of each Gospel there is no attempt at ornament save for the red dots round the initial letters. The letters of the first words of each Gospel are elaborately worked, and prefixed to each Gospel is a page covered with fine interlaced ornament and another page giving the symbol of the Evangelist.

Other Irish copies of the Vulgate version of the four Gospels are the "Book of Dimma" (c. ninth century) and the "Book of Mulling."† The latter contains the four Gospels in Latin, the Eusebian

* "Hermathena," viii., p. 199.

† Dr. H. J. Lawlor gave us a scholarly edition of "The Book of Mulling" (Edinburgh, 1897).

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canons, the prefaces of St. Jerome, and an Office for the Visitation of the Sick. There are vermillion headings to the arguments of the Gospels. There are elaborate initials at the beginnings of the Gospels, and these initials are finely drawn and coloured: they have the rows of red dots. The colophon mentions that Molling, Bishop of Ferns, who died in 696, is the writer. His real name was Daircell, and he was called Molling, or the leaper, on account of his athletic skill. Moreover, he possessed reputation as a scribe. On the other hand, M. Berger dates it late in the ninth century.* How is it possible to reconcile the date given by the colophon with that laid down by M. Berger? Applying the reasoning Dr. Abbott employed in the "Book of Durrow," it is possible to reconcile them, for the colophon contains the name of the scribe of the archetype, not of the scribe of the manuscript. Dr. Lawlor adopts this hypothesis. He concludes, with his usual caution, that the MS. has been transcribed, or at least ultimately derived, from an autograph of St. Molling of Ferns. He supposes that this saint wrote a copy of the Gospels, that a century after his death an anonymous scribe transcribed this book and the colophon, and that this transcript is the "Book of Mulling." The colophon comes at the end of St. John's Gospel, affording a proof that this Gospel was regarded then as the fourth.

* Berger, "L'Histoire de la Vulgate" (Paris, 1893), p. 34.

THE "BOOK OF ARMAGH."

With the "Book of Mulling" M. Berger couples the "Book of Armagh" as among the most important of the national MSS. of Ireland. In his noble edition* Dr. J. Gwynn points out that the "Book of Armagh" furnishes the only example of the entire Latin New Testament as read in Celtic churches. It also contains a collection of the earliest extant documents on the life of St. Patrick and the life of St. Martin of Tours. It is $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height, $5\frac{3}{4}$ in breadth, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ thick, consisting originally of 222 leaves of vellum. The writing is elegant, distinct, and uniform. The character is on the whole what is known as pointed Irish. With the exception of the first leaf and four leaves of the Gospel of St. Matthew the MS. is complete. The name of the scribe, Ferdomnach, appears in four places. Bishop Graves concludes that Ferdomnach completed the transcription of the first Gospel under the Primacy of Torbach in 807, and Dr. Gwynn endorses this conclusion.

To the student of history the most interesting portion of the MS. is that which deals with the "Life" of St. Patrick, written by Muirchu, the memoirs of his mission, compiled by Tirechan, a book of the rights and usages of the Church of Armagh, and the "Confessio" of St. Patrick. After the fashion of the preface to St. Luke's Gospel, the author refers to the many previous

* Dublin, 1913.

records describing the preaching of the Gospel in Ireland. He is conscious of the difficulties of the undertaking, of the paucity of the material, and of his own lack of skill. As "his lord Aedh" commands him "to unfold a few of the many actions of St. Patrick," he obeys. Aedh was Bishop of Sletty, and he and Muirchu were present at the Synod of Adamnan, c. 695-97. Book I. of the "Life" dates from the close of the seventh century, and Book II. perhaps from the beginning of the eighth. Book I. deals with the birth and the parentage of the saint, his captivity in Ireland, his escape, his early call to evangelization, his training in Gaul, his return to Ireland, and his work in Down. As St. Paul regarded Rome as the centre to be attacked and won for Christ, so St. Patrick regarded Tara. After the account of the Tara episode the remainder of Book I. is devoid of order, becoming a mere list of incidents: there is an appendix of the miracles St. Patrick wrought. The source of Muirchu's narrative is for the most part the "Confessio," though here and there he employs unnamed source or sources. Dr. Gwynn acutely notes proofs of Muirchu's dependence on the "Confessio." For instance, Muirchu does not tell us the name of the master of the saint or the place of his captivity. Why is this? The "Confessio" omits these details, and so does he. Muirchu, however, was aware that the master's name was Miliuc and that the place was the country of the Picts, of Slemish and Skerry.

There is an indistinctness about the account of the sojourn of St. Patrick in Gaul: there is a distinctness about the account of his mission in Ireland. Is a proof required? It is at hand in the accurate itinerary of the return journey. The saint touches at Inis Patrick, called after him, passes the coasts of Meath and Louth, enters Strangford Lough, lands at the mouth of the Slaney, converts Dichu at Saul, near Downpatrick, proceeds to Dalaraide, reaches the mountain Slemish, returns to Saul, and at the approach of Easter wends his way to Tara. Dr. Gwynn emphasizes two touches, testifying to the local knowledge of Muirchu. These are the mark discernible on the rocky summit of a mountain close to Slemish and the cross that still stood to signalize the spot whence St. Mark viewed the fire in which Miliuc perished by his own act. The supernatural is absent in the first three divisions of the "Life"; it is conspicuously present in the fourth and concluding division. True, even in the early portions there are dreams, visions, and voices. There are, however, none of the miracles with which the end abounds. There is repetition in Book II., though there is some new matter. It is characterized by the same topographical exactness as Book I.

The care with which Muirchu puts his narrative together contrasts with the carelessness of Tirechan. Probably after 664 the latter compiled his itinerary of the journeys of the saint. As he writes for Meath readers, he naturally enlarges on the doings

of St. Patrick in this country. He affords much topographical information, describing the founding of churches and the like. Unlike Muirchu, he attempts to furnish dates for the events he mentions, reckoning from the Passion and from the regnal years of Laeghaire, the Ard-righ. St. Patrick's wanderings are detailed, and the account terminates somewhat incompletely with a notice of the visit to Cashel. There is a common tradition underlying the "Confessio" and the Memoirs of Tirechan, but the latter, after his narrative of the conflict with heathendom, complements Muirchu's tale. This is plain in the account of the visit to Connaught, when at last he gazed on that Wood of Fochlath he had long before seen in a dream. In no case is Dr. Gwynn's insight greater than that in which he convincingly shows that a common and early tradition underlies the accounts of both Muirchu and Tirechan.

In Tirechan's Book II. there is much on the prerogative of Armagh (the *Paruchia Patricii*), and it is evident that so early as the seventh century the prerogative was known and in some measure admitted. The claims of centres like the familia *Columbæ Cille*, the familia *Airdsratha* (of Ardstraw), and the familia *Clono* (Clonmacnoise) are deliberately belittled.

At the end of Tirechan's Memoirs there is supplementary matter dealing with the three petitions of St. Patrick, his age, the three things in which he was like Moses, his date and mission, his due of

fourfold honour, and a summary. The last is due to Ferdomnach, and there are traces of his hand in the other matter. In fact, he compiled these six documents. These supplementary documents further the manifest purpose of Tirechan, the vindication of the prerogative of Armagh. On the other hand, Muirchu sets forth the facts as he knows them, and he is in no wise anxious to establish a thesis. He characterizes the man, not his mission. Tirechan characterizes the mission, not the man. As one peruses both writings, one comes to the conclusion that in some parts the supremacy of Armagh was accepted while in others it was not. In Leinster the power of Armagh was as shadowy as that of the Ard-righ himself.

The most fascinating document in the whole "Book of Armagh" is the "Confessio." With it there was the "Epistola." Unfortunately Ferdomnach omits the latter, and gives the former in an imperfect form. His copy of the "Confessio" leaves out matter to be found in other documents. What is the reason of this? In part this is due to his inability to read his MS., to the faulty exemplar he used, and to deliberate purpose. He abbreviated the account, and in so doing left out much characteristic material. The "Confessio" is a genuine document filled with the personal note, which furnishes the amplest justification of the injustice of the attacks made upon St. Patrick. He is no Newman writing an "Apologia pro Vita

Sua," yet at the same time the sincerity of the man stands out unmistakably. As St. Paul heard the man from Macedonia in a dream, so St. Patrick heard the men from Fochlath. Unlike his biographers, this is the only place to which he alludes. There is clear evidence of what manner of man he was: there is obscure evidence of the times in which he lived. The historian notes that during the saint's life the celibacy of the secular clergy was not the rule, that the Roman municipal organization was still working in Britain, and that the Roman provincial divisions were still flourishing.

Dr. Gwynn notes the parallel which St. Patrick draws between himself and the Apostle to the Gentiles. To both is common their gentle birth, their pecuniary independence, their supernatural visions and voices, the opposition of the soothsayers, the wide range of their mission, and the visits to places where none had preceded them. This parallelism is not artificial but natural, for it is based on the fact that the experiences of the two apostles were similar. The whole "Confessio" is saturated with Biblical phraseology. It is interesting to note that the Latin text of the New Testament in the "Book of Armagh" is the Vulgate of St. Jerome. As is well known, this Father revised a form of the Old Latin rather than furnished an independent translation from the Greek. In spite of occasional variations, the Vulgate of the "Book of Armagh" belongs to the Celtic family of MSS., and is therefore pervaded by Old Latin. According to Bishop

Wordsworth and Dr. White, the Amiantine text yields the purest Vulgate text of the Gospels, and they find that the text of the Vulgate in the "Book of Armagh" is substantially identical with it. Where they diverge, the "Book of Armagh" follows some form of the Old Latin. In the text of St. Matthew's Gospel, for example, there are variants from the normal text due to addition, omission, and substitution.

The last noteworthy document in the "Book of Armagh" is the memoirs of the life and acts of St. Martin of Tours—the "Vita," the "Dialogi," and the "Epistolæ." The popularity of the festival of this saint (November 11), commonly called Martinmas, affords a reason why these outlines of his life should be associated with those of St. Patrick. St. Martin's dividing of his cloak with a beggar is one of the most widely known incidents in his life. The account here describes the miraculous gifts with which he abounded, and his biographer accounts for his success in preaching by these gifts. The author of the "Life" of St. Martin is Sulpicius Severus.

The satchel of the "Book of Armagh" is made of a single piece of leather, embossed with figures of animals and interlaced work. In olden times, in Irish monastic libraries, books were preserved in such satchels, which were suspended by straps from hooks in the wall. Thus an old legend relates that "on the night of Longaradh's death all the book satchels in Ireland fell down."

SUNDRY MANUSCRIPTS.

Another fine Latin MS. of Irish origin is the "Psalter of Ricemarch," which Dr. Lawlor has edited. It formerly belonged to the Bishop of St. David's, who died in 1099, and in it this prelate has written some Latin verses. It was the property of Bishop Bedell, who lent it to Ussher, thereby preserving it, for Bedell's library perished in the troubles consequent on the 1641 rising.

In 1843 Dr. Todd purchased a single leaf of the Codex Palatinus, a fifth-century MS. of the Old Latin version of the Gospels written in silver letters on purple vellum. A portion of it lies in the Imperial Library, Vienna, which acquired it between 1800 and 1829. Such a dispersion of a MS. is not unprecedented. For example, there are two leaves of the Codex Purpureus (N) of the Gospels in Vienna, four in the British Museum, six in the Vatican, and thirty-three at Patmos.

Among the other MSS. of unusual attraction are two MSS. of Piers Plowman; tracts of Wyclif; valuable volumes of Waldensian literature; five MSS. of Rolle's "Pricke of Conscience," and several hymns by him; the "English Prose Psalter"; the earliest English translation of the "De Imitatione"; the "Life of St Alban" in Norman-French, probably in the handwriting of Matthew Paris; the two MSS. from which Howard published the "Chronicle of Worcester"; the original draft of Berkeley's "Principles of Human Knowledge"

and of Spotiswoode's "History of the Church of Scotland."

On Irish history there is material in a volume of Letters of Queen Elizabeth on Public Affairs in Ireland, 1565-70, the Correspondence of Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy, with the English Government, 1612-14, the Depositions relative to the Rising of 1641, the Correspondence of George Clarke, 1690-92, the Archbishop King Correspondence, 1681-1729, and volumes bearing on the insurrection of 1798. There are many MSS. relating to the history of the seventeenth century, especially during the first half of it. Indeed, the majority of the MSS. belong to this century.

The Oriental MSS. include a beautiful Koran and the Shâh Nâmeh from the library of Tippoo, some from the Royal Library of Shiraz, and many Persian MSS. There are also some Syriac MSS.

THE WALDENSIAN MANUSCRIPTS.

From the literary point of view Milton's passionate call on God to avenge his "slaughtered saints, whose bones lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold," led to singular results. For Cromwell undertook the task of earthly vengeance. Nor did his zeal stop there. He ordered Morland, his envoy to the Duke of Savoy on their behalf in 1655, to procure material bearing on the unfortunate Vaudois. In 1658 Morland wrote a History of the Evangelical Churches in Piedmont, based on

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documents which he deposited in the Library of Cambridge University. The interest of Ussher was aroused. He stirred up Morland to renewed exertions in order that he might secure any old books or papers which could throw light upon the early history and religious opinions of the Vaudois. Some material Ussher acquired, and it is now in Trinity College, Dublin.

Morland and his Vaudois friends emphasized the value of their documents by stating that their dates ranged from the tenth to the thirteenth century. Obviously this enhanced their importance. Dr. J. H. Todd examined the whole question in his "Books of the Vaudois,"* and he came to the conclusion that the books were written from 1520 to 1530: certainly they all dated from the sixteenth century. Had the early date been authentic, they would have anticipated the doctrines of Calvin by six hundred years. Though Denifle has removed much of the originality of Luther's ideas, Morland has not been able to perform this office for Calvin. Nevertheless, the documents possess unrivalled value for the student of the growth of ideas.

ORIGINAL RECORDS OF THE INQUISITION AT ROME.

On these sixty-six volumes there is a certain amount of information in K. Benrath, *Rivista Cristiana*, vol. vii., 1879, vol. viii., 1880; "Ueber die

* London, 1865.

Quellen der Italienischen Reformationsgeschichte" (Bonn, 1876, 31 pp.); *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1879; "Regestum Clementis Papæ V., Romæ," 1885, vol. i., Prolegomena, p. cclxxii.; U. Balzani, *Rendiconti della R. Acad. dei Lincei*, vol. iv., fasc. 12; "Di Alcuni Documenti, etc." (published separately at Rome, 25 pp., 1895). The Rev. R. C. Gibbings prints some of the trials—*e.g.*, "Case of a Minorite Friar" (T. Fabiano, 1565), (Dublin, 1853); "Trial and Martyrdom of P. Cernesecchi" (Dublin, 1856).

DEPOSITIONS OF THE SUFFERERS DURING THE REBELLION OF 1641.

These depositions are arranged according to counties—*e.g.*, Kildare in the fifth, Meath in the eighth, Antrim in the thirtieth—in thirty-three volumes. Vol. xxxiii. contains a list of the rebels' names. Mr. W. G. Hodson indexed, though not completely, the depositions in four typewritten books, and summarized them in four more: these are in the College Library. Miss Hickson printed some of the depositions in her "Ireland in the Seventeenth Century."* "There are," according to Hume, "three events in our history which may be regarded as touchstones of party men: an English Whig who asserts the reality of the popish plot, an Irish Catholic who denies the massacre of 1641, and a Scottish Jacobite who maintains the innocence of Queen Mary, must be considered

* London, 1884, two vols.

as men beyond the reach of argument or reason, and must be left to their prejudices." In this class, at least in his opinion of the value of these depositions, must be placed the late Sir John T. Gilbert. In the Appendix to the Eighth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission he writes what is a travesty of the truth.* In order to impugn their value he quotes statements depreciating them from the pens of Lord Castlehaven, who wrote in 1685 and is therefore scarcely a contemporary witness; of John Curry, who wrote in 1747; of Fernando Warner, who wrote in 1767; and of Michael Carey, who wrote in 1823. It is evident from his report that Sir John T. Gilbert was unable to understand the documents which he purported to describe. For example, he endorses what Mr. Warner wrote on the crossings-out evident in the depositions. These crossing-out strokes are drawn over the words "duly sworn" at the beginning of many of the depositions, yet they leave the words under them perfectly legible. It was left for Miss Hickson to furnish a conclusive explanation of them.† She argues that it is evident that the light strokes are not meant to obliterate any of the writing. These strokes are of later date than the writing over which they are placed. What, then, is the point of them? They are simply made not in order to cancel or in any wise alter the depositions, but in order to abridge them for the official copyist,

* Pp. 572-76.

† "Ireland in the Seventeenth Century," i., pp. 129-32.

who was employed to make duplicate extracts. It is plain that Sir John T. Gilbert went wholly wrong when he asserted that these crossing-out strokes were for the purpose of cancelling the depositions, and this assertion invalidates the greater part of the report he made on these depositions. Unfortunately his report appears among the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and is therefore taken by many as a correct account of the value of these depositions. To this day many people are unaware of the true solution which Miss Hickson has given. The cancellings, then, are merely the lines drawn to show the official copyist what he might omit when he was compiling the duplicate books for the King and Parliament.

Sir John T. Gilbert's ways of weighing evidence were curious. He also rejects the depositions on the ground that they were made by farmers, traders, labourers, and the like. When, however, he deals with the events of 1628 he is content to produce the evidence of the humble clansmen of Phelim O'Byrne and that of vagrants and street-beggars. The condition of a man in either case is not the point for the historian: it is surely the question whether he is a capable witness of the events he saw—whether, in fact, he tells the truth. Mr. R. Dunlop admits that Miss Hickson has successfully impugned the validity of the argument of Sir John T. Gilbert,* and he also admits that her explanation of the crossings-out is undoubtedly correct. On

* *English Historical Review*, i., p. 741

the latter matter it is worth stating that no pen-stroke has been drawn across an account of a murder or a massacre. In these cases the only strokes made are those over passages relating to losses of goods and chattels. When at the beginning of a deposition the words "duly sworn and examined" have been struck out, at the end of it and beside the signature of two or more commissioners stand the strong words, "Jurat coram nobis." Of course, the accounts of details of the goods and chattels were tedious. The copyist, in order to save time, added up the value of the inventories, crossed out the details, and set down the total of each inventory. When he added the total of all the inventories he had merely to look at the sum of each. When all the total has been added it is equal to the whole of the inventories. There are many crossings-out in the counties of Cork, Kerry, Waterford, and Limerick, simply because in these counties there had been few murders and many robberies. In the north the reverse holds good. There are, for instance, few crossings-out in the entries of Co. Antrim.

Sometimes the original depositions and copies of them are bound side by side, and sometimes they are in separate volumes. Miss Hickson estimates that there are not more than one hundred or one hundred and fifty copies wanting originals in the whole thirty-three volumes.

On December 23, 1641, commissioners were appointed for taking examinations. They were

Henry Jones, Dean of Kilmore, Roger Puttock, William Hitchcock, Randall Adams, John Sterne, William Aldrich, Henry Brereton, and John Watson, clerks. They or any two of them were authorized to examine upon oath all persons that had been robbed, or spoiled, or sequestered from their settled abodes by the rebels, as also all witnesses that could give testimony therein what robberies and spoils had been committed upon them or any others to their knowledge since October 22, 1641. It will be observed that in this commission there is no mention of murders committed. This omission is rectified in the commission of January 18, 1641-42, when there was added the following: "What numbers of persons have been murdered by the rebels, or perished afterwards on the way to Dublin, or other places whither they fled (since the two-and-twentieth) day of October last, and all other circumstances and things touching, or concerning the said particulars and every of them, either before the three-and-twentieth of October, or since." The commissioners were appointed by the Lords Justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, and the men appointed were probably puritanical: certainly Dean Jones was. They were men well acquainted with the actual circumstances of the country.

It is obvious that the bulk of the victims belonged to the humbler walks of life: they were farmers, yeomen, labourers, artisans, and traders. The Protestant nobility and gentry did not suffer

nearly so grievously because they could retire to their castles or fortified houses. The rank and file of the Protestants, no doubt, were as biased against their enemies as the Belgians are against the Germans. This bias has to be allowed for. As in the case of the Belgians, in a number of cases one witness corroborates facts given by another witness of whom he has no knowledge. The Rev. F. W. Bonynghe has investigated all the depositions carefully, and he finds, for example, that the memoirs of Clanricarde corroborate the depositions where they cover the same period and people. The fact is that these depositions have been unduly depreciated by men who have never examined them. Some, for instance, invoke the authority of the late Mr. Lecky, whereas he told me that he had never read them.

There are over a thousand witnesses, and it is absurd to expect that all of them are trustworthy. Allowance must be made for the fact that not a few of them had stood in danger of losing their lives, and they had had relatives who had actually lost theirs. There are exaggerations of facts and there are wild rumours among them. This is inevitable. Indeed, the marvellous matter would be if there were neither exaggerations nor rumours among them. For these reasons the depositions of George Littlefield and Edward Saltinthall and of William Walsh are to be read with extreme caution. A poor woman bore evidence to the fact that her neighbours had told her that Colonel Manus O'Cahane used to breakfast off the heads of

the Protestants he had murdered. Of course, this is no evidence that the Colonel did so; it is simply evidence of the frame of mind of the woman who believed such a story. It follows that she is too credulous, but unless we are guilty of the fallacy of arguing from the particular to the universal it by no means follows that all other witnesses are equally credulous. Moreover, it is quite possible to sift fact from fiction in the case of the depositions. A witness like Redfern or Lady Staples is clearly guilty of exaggeration in the one case or of untruth in the other. In spite of this, a portion of the evidence in each instance is true. Dr. Maxwell accepts mere hearsay without adequate investigation, but he does record some facts capable of verification. This remark applies, in a lesser degree, to Mrs. Constable's evidence. As some of the deponents could not speak English we have to bear in mind that much depended on the interpreter employed. Extremely few could speak only Irish: some spoke both Irish and English. Among these few are those who testified about the affairs of Dunluce Castle in 1641 and the poor Roman Catholic Irish of Island Magee, Co. Antrim.

All who read medieval chronicles are aware of the fact that the supernatural soon obtrudes. It is difficult to read a document which does not testify to the existence of miracle on behalf of the saint whose biography is sketched. Does it follow that because there is miraculous in the chronicle that the whole chronicle is therefore discredited? No

competent medievalist would give an answer in the affirmative. Now that the investigations of the Society for Psychical Research tend to allow ghosts to come into their own, it is not so easy to find investigators who wholly discredit ghosts. For curious instances of apparitions, Sir A. Lyall's "Asiatic Studies" deserves consultation.*

Now in order to put the case against the depositions at its strongest, we take the Portadown depositions. Mrs. Price, wife of Captain Price, testifies that Manus O'Cahane drove more than one hundred prisoners, including five of her children, from the bridge into the waters of the River Bann. Those able to swim were shot or forced back to drown in the river. Owen Roe O'Neill examined this story in the hearing of Mrs. Price, and he was told that 400 had been drowned. Mrs. Price, with Mrs. Newberry, goes on to declare that "they, hearing of divers apparitions and visions that were ordinarily seen near Portadown bridge since the drowning of her children, and the rest of the Protestants there, and they being confidently told that the said Owen Roe O'Neill and his troops were resolved to be at Portadown bridge to inform themselves concerning those apparitions, she, this deponent [*i.e.*, Mrs. Price], and her child, and those other Protestants her companions, at the same time, came to Portadown bridge aforesaid, about Candlemas last, and then and there met the said Owen Roe O'Neill and his troops at the waterside there,

* "Asiatic Studies," Second Series, Chapter V.

near the said bridge, about twilight in the evening. And then and there, upon a sudden, there appeared unto them a vision, or spirit assuming the shape of a woman, waist high, upright in the water, naked with [illegible] in her hand, her hair dishevelled, very white, and her eyes seeming to twinkle in her head, and her skin as white as snow; which spirit or vision, seeming to stand upright in the water, divulged, and often repeated the word 'Revenge ! Revenge ! Revenge !' whereat this deponent and the rest being put into a strange amazement and fright walked away a little from the place. And then presently the said Owen Roe O'Neill sent a Romish priest and a friar to speak to it. Whereupon they asked it many questions, both in English and Latin, but it answered them nothing.

"And a few days after the said Owen Roe O'Neill sent his drummer to the English army for a Protestant minister, who coming unto him, and being by him desired to inquire of that vision, or spirit, what it would have, the same minister went one evening to the usual place on the waterside, where at the like time of the evening the same, or a like spirit or vision, appeared in the like posture and shape it formerly had done. And the same minister saying, 'In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, what wouldst thou have, or for what standest thou there?' it answered, 'Revenge ! Revenge !' very many times reiterating the word 'revenge.' Whereat the same minister went to prayer privately, and afterwards they all

departed, and left the same vision standing and crying out as before. But after that night for six weeks together it never appeared that either this deponent, or any of the rest that came there upon purpose several times, could hear or observe, yet after six weeks again it appeared and cried as before. So as the Irish that formerly were frightened away by it, and were then come back again to dwell in the English houses thereabouts, in hope it would not appear any more, were then again so affrighted that they went quite away and forsook the place: the like or the same spirit or vision since that time appearing and crying out ‘Revenge!’ every night, until this deponent and her child and late fellow-prisoners came away with their convoy to Dundalk. And further saith, that the first vision or apparition after the Protestants were drowned, were in show a great number of heads in the water, which cried out in a loud voice, ‘Revenge! Revenge!’ as this deponent hath been credibly told by the rebels themselves, who also told this deponent that these apparitions were English rebels, as was most commonly reported and believed by most of the Irish inhabitants thereabouts, and others. And the Irish rebels, discharging some shot at these heads, flashes of fire then suddenly appeared on the water, as she was also told by them. And that quickly afterwards that same shape or spirit of a woman appeared, and cried all night, beginning about twilight as aforesaid.”

It is on account of evidence like this that Sir

John T. Gilbert seeks to discredit the whole of the depositions. Now is this judicial? The cries and the other mournful sounds may very well have been the howlings of wolves and dogs, coming down to feast on the dead bodies. The imagination could work wonders with these sounds. Mr. Bagwell concludes that "the evidence of this lady [*i.e.*, Mrs. Price] shows no marks of a wandering mind, and yet it is evident that she believed in an apparition. It is quite possible that some crazed woman who had lost all that was dear to her may have haunted the spot and cried for vengeance, but in any case a belief in ghosts was still general in those days, and specially in Ireland. The evidence"—these are his emphatic words—"as to the massacre is overwhelming."* Mrs. Sherring swore that while her husband and thirty-two others were being massacred in Tipperary a violent thunderstorm occurred, due in her opinion to God's anger at the horrible doings of the time. Her evidence is confirmed by three other sources, and is in no wise invalidated by her views on the origin of this thunderstorm.

It is pleasant to find that Mrs. Price testifies to the mercy and kindness which Owen Roe O'Neill showed to her and to other prisoners, and she also gives us his denunciations of the cruelties perpetrated by Sir Phelim O'Neill. The Rev. John Ker-diffe, a clergyman of the Church of Ireland, also describes how he and his parishioners were cap-

* "Ireland Under the Stuarts," i., pp. 343-44.

tured by men under Colonel Richard Plunket, with whom was a friar called Malone. "Colonel Richard Plunket," he records, "treated us with great humanity, and in like manner did Friar Malone at Skerry; only this, beside his rebellion, was condemnable in him, that he took our poor men's Bibles which he found in a boat and cut them in pieces, casting them into the fire, with these words, that he would deal in like manner with all Protestants and Puritan Bibles." Nor does the example of Colonel Plunket stand alone. Con Magennis appointed the priest Crelly, or Crowley, to govern Newry, and he showed kindness to the Protestant people. Daniel Bawn, a Roman Catholic, saved lives at Corbridge and elsewhere, a fact that the witnesses are anxious to acknowledge. Oliver Cromwell remembered men like this, and he refused to banish two friars who at Cashel had tried to save the lives of Protestants.

There were not so many people massacred in Leinster as in Ulster and Connaught. There is little use in trying to ascertain the number of men, women, and children who perished. Sir William Petty estimated in 1672 that 37,000 were massacred in the first year. This is excessive, for he does not allow for the fugitives who escaped to England and Scotland. Miss Hickson inclines to think that during the first three or four years about 25,000 perished. Warner put the number so low as 8,000, and Lecky was inclined to adopt this estimate. Between these figures and Temple's guess of 300,000

there are many intermediate figures. Temple wrote in 1646, but he clearly was impressed unduly by the rumours and exaggerations of the time at which he wrote. May, who used Temple's book, puts the number at 200,000. According to Dr. Maxwell, the Irish themselves asserted that their priests counted no less than 154,000 dead bodies during the first five months. In 1645 the Jesuit Cornelius O'Mahony exultantly proclaims the fact that it was agreed on all sides that up to that time 150,000 heretics had been killed. Clarendon makes the sober estimate of 40,000 to 50,000. "The conclusion of the whole matter," in the opinion of Mr. Bagwell, "is that several thousand Protestants were massacred, that the murders were not confined to one province or county, but occurred in almost every part of the island, that the retaliation was very savage, innocent persons often suffering for the guilty, and that great atrocities were committed on both sides."* This judgment savours somewhat of the attitude of Sir Roger de Coverley, but it is the attitude nearest to the truth.

Petty thought that the population of Ireland in 1641 was about 1,400,000. He also reckons that the houses in the country were in 1640 worth £2,500,000, whereas they were in 1652 only worth £500,000. In 1640 the Irish owned twice the property owned by the English, but in 1652 the Irish owned only one-fourth of the island. In 1640 the cattle of Ireland were worth £4,000,000,

* "Ireland Under the Stuarts," i., pp. 334-35.

but in 1652 they were worth only £500,000. He puts the money loss of the rebellion at the large figure of £37,255,000. The proceedings of the High Court of Justice in 1653-54 merit careful examination. Before this Court the depositions were brought, and were sifted with the greatest skill and care.

It is well worth while to add some more cases of the humanity of the rebels. James Shaw, of Markethill, Co. Armagh, deposed that but for his rescue by Turlough Oge O'Neill and his protection by Sir Phelim O'Neill he and his family would undoubtedly have been murdered by Maolmurry McDonnell and his soldiers. Peter Kirkber, of the city of Dublin, testified that "the rebels did put a rope round the said William Gibbs' neck, intending to hang him also, but by the mediation of some of the rebels he was then saved." Robert Wadding, of Killstoune, Co. Carlow, said that he "was beset by ten or twelve of the rebels, armed with guns, pikes, and skeans drawn, some they held at deponent's throat, some at his breast and back, and took his money from his pocket, likewise his cloak and hat, and were unbuttoning his doublet, insomuch that he verily thinks they would have stript him naked, but that Owen Garkagh O'Birne in the interim came in and rescued this deponent out of their hands, and procured this deponent his hat and cloak again, whereat they grieved, but durst not oppose him, he being powerful amongst them, but they swore they would inform against

him that he was a protector of Protestants." Ralph Walmesly, of Ballynegulshy, near Birr, testified warmly to the kindness showed to him by Captain Turlough Molloy and John McFarrell, of Ballycally in the Queen's County, saying that "he is confident that the said Molloy and McFarrell were much grieved at the ill-treating of the English, which appeared not only by the said Molloy's and McFarrell's loving words, but by the real courtesies they did the English at divers times."

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF GEORGE CLARKE.

George Clarke was Secretary at War from 1690 to 1692. As a rule the documents, except his own letters, which are copied, are originals. He was the kind of man who was a nuisance to his own generation and a blessing to succeeding generations, for he insisted on getting answers to his letters, and these answers he religiously preserved. Monck Mason has an elaborate catalogue of the whole correspondence, which runs to 108 pages:

Vol. i., pp. 35-45, June 2, 1690 to August 21, 1690.

Vol. ii., pp. 45-55, August 21, 1690 to October 31, 1690.

Vol. iii., pp. 55-62, November 1, 1690 to December 31, 1690.

Vol. iv., pp. 62-69, January 1, 1691 to February 15, 1691.

Vol. v., pp. 69-76, February 15, 1691 to March 24, 1691.

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Vol. vi., pp. 76–85, March 27, 1691 to May 15, 1691.

Vol. vii., pp. 85–92, May 16, 1691 to June 16, 1691.

Vol. viii., pp. 92–100, June 16, 1691 to July 7, 1691.

Vol. ix., pp. 100–107, July 8, 1691 to July 31, 1691.

Vol. x., pp. 108–117, August 1, 1691 to August 23, 1691.

Vol. xi., pp. 117–25, August 23, 1691 to September 14, 1691.

Vol. xii., pp. 125–34, September 14, 1691 to October 11, 1691.

Vol. xiii., pp. 134–42, October 12, 1691 to December 11, 1692.

These thirteen volumes deal with operations all over Ireland, and from them an intelligible view of the Williamite side of the war can be obtained. Indeed, from this standpoint they are indispensable. One drawback to this correspondence—and one source of interest—is the illegibility of the letters in it. This arises from the circumstance that some of them were obviously written on the actual field of battle. As a rule Ginkell excels in illegibility. He writes in French, and employs contractions and phrases which are not a little difficult to follow. Fortunately in his case one's work is lightened by the copyist, who frequently transcribes a translation of Ginkell's letters, but even he adds the remark: "Copy: the original being with difficulty to be read." One is distinctly grateful to this scribe for the trouble with which he has discharged his task. The first letter in the correspondence is from Ginkell, and its date is June 2, 1690. Then

follows a list of the ships taken up and now employed in the transport of the forces to Ireland (June 3, 1690), with the places where they were hired, the number of horses they can carry, and the other uses to which they were put. The number of ships was 541, with a tonnage of 54,976 tons. Of this tonnage 18,834 tons were given up to the accommodation of 5,215 horses. William Blathwayt transmits (June 4, 1690) to Clarke an order to sign a warrant for £40,000 to pay Fox and Coningsby for the transport of the troops. He is prepared to furnish by the next post the several lists of clothes and provisions of all kinds, and is asking the officers of the Ordnance "to hasten their lists of stores which shall be immediately transmitted to you according to His Majesty's commands." The same day there is trouble from the masters of the ships, bringing over the sick, lame, and disbanded soldiers, for they demand eightpence a day for each man during the time he is on board. The authorities ask for £2,000 more, "else they shall not have one moment's peace with the said masters." It is clear that troubles from masters or men during wartime are not confined to our own day. Indeed, these details acquire fresh interest, seeing we are desirous to know how our forefathers planned their expeditionary force.

It is easy for us to understand Clarke's sigh of relief when he heard of the arrival at Carrickfergus of 200 sail on June 4, 1690: they brought with them five other ships filled with recruits for Colonel

Heyford's Regiment of Dragoons. The 200 sail were laden with oats. Two days later from Whitehall Blathwayt urges the masters of transports, "upon pain of His Majesty's highest displeasure, to lay hold of the first opportunity of proceeding to their respective ports." On June 8, 1690, Clarke himself writes: "You must excuse the blots, occasioned by the want of a place to write in."

In a petition of June 9, 1690, Gustavus Hamilton reveals to Schomberg "the almost starving condition of this garrison [*i.e.*, of Enniskillen], which neither have money nor the inhabitants victuals to supply them upon credit. I am now forced to grant orders to take up cattle from the country, for their present relief upon bills from their officers, to prevent disorders [which] may happen by the soldiers' necessities, and am afraid neither can they be thus long fulfilled because of the poverty of the country. I am also apprehensive that the fresh meat may create distempers among the men without bread, which this place cannot afford, but as we are supplied from the Laggan [?] with ready money. . . . I am afraid there was a mistake in my last of the number signed for Cavan under command of Sarsfield which *The Intelligencer* affirmed to be 15,000." If there was danger in the position of Enniskillen, there was difficulty in troops coming to relieve it. For near Falmouth, June 12, 1690, and at Maidstone there was mutiny or disorder among them.

On June 10, 1690, Blathwayt writes: "I return

you my thanks by this express for the good news you sent me in yours of the 14th of His Majesty's safe arrival in Ireland and with so little inconvenience, though the passage was somewhat long. It is also a great satisfaction to understand from Highlake, Kirkebright [?], and Whitehaven that the troops are now all embarked and probably before this in Ireland."

There is a list of general officers, June 18, 1690, headed by the names of the Duke of Schomberg, Count de Solmes, the Earl of Oxford, the Duke of Wurtemberg, Lieut.-General Ginkell, and Lieut.-General Douglas, who wrote almost as vile handwriting as Ginkell himself. This list differs in several respects from that given by Story in his "Wars of Ireland."* The next day a prisoner gave welcome information in a list of the regiments serving with James II. This day William III. issues from his Court of Belfast a proclamation, setting forth his object to be "to reduce our Kingdom of Ireland to such a state that all who have themselves become dutiful and loyal subjects may enjoy their liberties and professions under just and equal government."

In the accounts of the embarkation there are many details of more than mere military interest. For example, the political economist can glean much on the wages and prices prevalent not only in Ireland but also in England. Coals, for instance, are six shillings a ton. According to

Vicomte d'Avenel, the multiplier required to ascertain the true purchasing power for the period of the Clarke correspondence is 2·33, which gives fourteen shillings as the price per ton. Naturally there are many facts concerning the price of a load of hay and of forage of all kinds. On June 21, 1690, Kirke desires tools and men to repair the roads near Newry. Two days later George Buchanan and Gustavus Hamilton raise 78 horses, 39 countrymen, and 3 conductors to attend Schomberg as messengers. These letters tell us much of the state of agricultural society. Besides, in the grumbling at wages and prices charged, there is mention of the normal wages and prices. Thus a serious mistake is averted, for too often old records only furnish abnormal wages and prices. What was usual was forgotten; what was unusual was remembered. The Clarke letters possess many matters of interest to the writer of other than the drum and trumpet history. This information comes in unexpected places. Gustavus Hamilton is anxious to tell Schomberg the number of the enemy. There are 40,000 foot, 6,000 horse and dragoons, and 6,000 French, and there are 24,000 in garrisons, though not more than half of them are armed. This was wonderfully important to Schomberg, but to us it is at least as valuable to glean that on June 23, 1690, there is no force left in Dublin, "where a quart of ale now gives 12d. Some of all sorts begin to refuse the brass money, and [those] who do it are immediately

put in gaol.” On June 20, 1690, a Hillsborough proclamation regulates abuses in pressing carts and horses. It was ordered that no pressing should take place “without leave and order had under our royal sign manual”; any offender against this regulation was forthwith to be dismissed.

In a paper of June 24, 1690, there is a list and distribution of the recruits raised in England for the forces in Ireland: there were 5,360 men attached to the different regiments. The next day Ranelagh makes the remark: “I am confident you will find as little heart in my countrymen as you do beauty in their women.” Curiously enough, the Clarke correspondence does not add much to our knowledge of the Battle of the Boyne, July 1, 1690. The military triumph of William was slight, but the escape of James to France converted it into a victory of the first magnitude. The French rightly refused to give the contest the name of a battle; to them it was a mere skirmish. The immense political importance of the flight of James was, however, obscured by a succession of war scenes in Europe. The Battle of Fleurus proved incomparably more murderous than the Battle of the Boyne. Yet after a few days the importance of this victory was gone. The effects of the Battle of the Boyne are deeply graven on the history of the world. For it decided the fate of one kingdom, and then strengthened the other and greater one. On Irish soil William was fighting not merely for the Kingdom of England, but he was also fighting

for his fatherland as well as for his allies. Above all, he was fighting for the principle of liberty in the life of nations, the principle that the Grand Alliance had called into vigorous existence. On Irish soil James was in reality fighting, not for his own cause, but for that of his master, the King of France. William and James did not, as men have often said, represent the principles of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism; they rather represented the eternal struggle between liberty and tyranny. The Boyne proved to be to the despotic power of Louis XIV. what Austerlitz was to Austria and Jena to Prussia. It would have been well for the French monarch if the results of that skirmish had not been half hidden from his view by the victories of Beachy Head, Fleurus, and Staffarda. The Holy Roman Emperor and the Pope rejoiced to hear the good news from Ireland, for Gallicanism had at last received a severe blow. While State religion had thus been checked, liberty had been allowed to develop more freely than before, and both these priceless blessings are the results of that memorable July day.*

On July 3, 1690, Blathwayt speaks of Beachy Head as "that unhappy action," and on July 5 he writes: "I never thought the Irish would stand, and never doubted of success on that side." On July 6 Marlborough writes: "I hope the King is well again of his wound, for we must have no ill

* See the author's "Revolutionary Ireland and its Settlement," pp. 161-62.

results from Ireland." On July 20 Blathwayt continues his strain of rejoicing: "The news of your late victory and triumph cannot be too often repeated, being everywhere the greatest cordial imaginable to the minds of the people that were before dispirited by the insults of the French. . . . They propose for encouragement to pay each horseman 5s. and each dragoon 2s. 6d. . . . All the French can do at land will signify little after the success His Majesty's arms have met with in Ireland." Thomas Clarges furnishes us with some details of the wound William sustained. On July 10 he writes: "The King had received some injury by a transient shot of a small cannon bullet that tore his coat and waistcoat about the shoulder without doing him other hurt, and that his sense and courage did mightily animate the whole army and dismay the enemy." Though Blathwayt was desirous to provide for the soldiers, it is clear that all his efforts did not meet with the success they deserved. For on July 10, 1690, we find sick soldiers at Naas who were forced to beg from door to door, yet fourpence a day would have sufficed for their modest needs.

In all the correspondence it is not often we read of the far-reaching schemes of Louis XIV. for the detention of William during a period long enough to enable him to realize the French designs on Spain. Nor is this surprising. For it is to the "Archives des Affaires des Étrangères" we have to turn to see the plans laid down in Paris. The

men whose letters George Clarke gathers are deeply interested in schemes for beating the Irish and the French in Ireland. Still, we do come across traces of the European designs of Louis XIV. On July 22, 1690, some letters were intercepted from France. They mention an intention to invade Ireland with an army of 17,000 foot and 3,000 horse and dragoons under D'Humières. The Battle of the Boyne, however, discouraged them. The French King had at this time employment for far more troops than he had at his disposal in order to protect and defend his own country.

In a letter of August 2, 1690, there is an account of the supply of provisions at Drogheda, Clonmel, Waterford, Youghal, and Wexford. These bear not only on the private fortunes of the contractors, but also on those of the farmers living in the neighbourhood of those towns. Three days later we glean a few facts relating to the affairs of Clarke himself. From London Crauford writes to him, telling him that "many after the former rebellion [*i.e.*, of 1641] got great estates, and why may not you have a lucky hit? which will make you in such circumstances that you may ever after enjoy your friends with freedom, without being confined to the troubles of an employment. If Ireland be unfixed, England cannot be very fixed. Unless you can raise your fortune in Ireland, it will not be fit to stay there, for two years' stay there will lose your interest in England. If you see that by your settlement in Ireland you cannot keep this

[employment] here [*i.e.*, in London], then I beg your friendship and the same present which must be made here of 100 guineas to a certain person if ever any good success is to be expected." This is one of the very few cases where the figure of George Clarke obtrudes itself.

There is an account of the famous Ballyneety episode in a letter of August 12, 1690: "We have had worse luck with some of our cannon that were coming from Dublin. A party of horse and dragoon under the command of Colonel Sarsfield crossed the Shannon at Killaloe, and last night fell upon the convoy that was with them, which they [attacked], and split two of the guns and damaged the carriages of three of the others. As soon as our four-and-twenty pounders come from Carrickfergus, which we daily expect, we shall make another battery against the town [*i.e.*, of Limerick]. Sir John Lanier was within three miles of Colonel Sarsfield's party when the messenger came away, and was marching with all diligence to cut off the passage to the hills, whither they were making all [haste] they could." For some days the letters nearly all deal with the siege of Limerick. On August 14 it is joyfully recorded that the French leave Limerick, and betake themselves to Galway: this was a very great help to the speedy ending of the war.

In a letter of September 2, 1690, occurs the clear statement: "I wish the inclemency of the weather does not incommode the progress of the siege of

Limerick.” This statement is confirmed by the “Journal” of John Stevens. On August 29 he writes: “The night was extreme cold, dark, and rainy,”* and on September 3 “was appointed a general day of review for the garrison in the King’s Island [in Limerick], but the weather proving extreme foul it was put off.”† The entry of the 29th shows in what sense he uses the word “foul,” for there he writes that “the weather began to grow foul with extreme rain.” Dumont de Bostaquet informs us that “la pluie avoit tombée en telle abondance.”‡ According to Story, “a storm of rain and other bad weather began to threaten us, which fell out on Friday the 29th [of August] in good earnest.”§ Though Corporal Trim was not an exact historian, there is no reason for disbelieving his recollection of the state of the weather, and he asserts, as all his readers will remember, with emphasis, “besides, there was such a quantity of rain fell during the siege, the whole country was like a puddle.”

Williamite and Jacobite authorities, then, agree that rain fell. It is with amazement that we turn to the “Mémoires” of the Duke of Berwick, and read: “I can affirm that not a single drop of rain fell for above a month before or for three weeks

* See the author’s edition of “The Journal of John Stevens,” p. 182.

† *Ibid.*, p. 184.

‡ “Mémoires inédits,” p. 286.

§ “Wars of Ireland,” p. 39.

after" the siege.* The question that now awaits an answer is, Why did Berwick state the contrary? He was so young that he gained no honour at the siege, and he was jealous of Sarsfield. The perplexing problem then occurs that a person who from the nature of the case must have known the truth does not tell it, even though it favours him. For it extenuates the failure of the Jacobite side. It is, however, not without parallel. When Napoleon occupied Moscow it was burnt. The Governor of Moscow, Count Rostopchin, at the time boasted that he had fired the town. Many years afterwards, when an exile from Russia, he denied that he had ordered the conflagration. Which is to be believed, his early affirmation or his subsequent denial?

There were troubles arising out of the disordered state of the country. The Count de Solmes issues a proclamation on September 5, 1690, ordering the immediate hanging of plunderers: these were the natives. The latter were not the only people to seize opportunities of theft, for Albert Conyngnam, on September 15, tried to redress complaints of plunder preferred against Lieutenant Clerk, of his Dragoon Regiment: these are the famous Inniskillings. On September 17 a proclamation asks the inhabitants of Cashel to bring in corn at 15s. a barrel. The party wronged shall receive three times the price of the plundered goods from the officer commanding the troop or company to which the

* Page 331 in the "Mémoires" (1839 edition).

soldier belongs, and the guilty person punished according to rules appointed by His Majesty. Disaffected persons who refuse to supply provisions are to be imprisoned and their corn confiscated. This order was to last for a month.

On September 19, 1690, Lieut.-General Douglas sends Ginkell the outline of the plan by which Athlone was so successfully assaulted. "Having received," he writes, "good information concerning the bridge of Banagher, I find it will be a hazardous attempt to break it down at present, the enemy being very strong on the other side, and the bridge defended by a castle, and another work, which commands it on two sides. Our men have no bread, and will shortly be in a wretched condition for undertaking a march to the north. I have just now got intelligence that the enemy is in a manner famished, and they must march abroad this winter to preserve their lives."

There are some letters to and from Marlborough. On September 19 he gives an account of the forces of the enemy. On September 22, 1690, Ginkell writes to him: "The Duke of Wurtemberg having expressed a desire to be engaged in the affair I could not refuse. . . . I am sure he will make no difficulty in the point of command." The skill the great Duke displayed in managing Charles of Sweden he now displayed with a much smaller man. The affair was the clever attack on Cork. Ginkell, by his careful attention to detail, showed that he was as well aware as the Duke of Wellington

that an army marched on its stomach. On September 24 he orders S. Blount, High Sheriff of Tipperary, to provide coals, candles, and salt for the garrisons at Cashel, Clonmel, Fethard, and Thurles. On October 3 Marlborough tells Clarke that "we have been very much disappointed by the cannon, but . . . I hope to have them, and then I shall lose no time in pressing this place [*i.e.*, Kinsale]." On October 12 there occurs a shocking example of Ginkell's handwriting. Four days later he orders the army to proceed to winter quarters. It is odd to find that Blathwayt thinks the taking of Kinsale so very important when weighed in the balance against the loss of Belgrade. Of course, we have to bear in mind that off this harbour there were many French privateers, and that so long as the town was in the possession of the Jacobites it formed a kind of Zeebrugge to the Williamite ships. According to Blathwayt, "the taking of the New Fort of Kinsale sets you at great ease and gives you elbow-room on that side. It balances very seasonably some misfortunes that have lately happened in Hungary."

The tale of disorder from the soldiers still continues. On December 6 the Commissioners of Revenue ask for assistance on behalf of their officers, "who in many parts of this kingdom have of late been opposed in the execution of their duties, and roughly used by the Danes and other soldiers of the army, whereby the levying of the revenue of customs and excise hath been obstructed."

From a letter of December 9 it appears that the wages of a conductor and his horse were £12 a month; that of a wheelwright 17s. 6d. a week; that of a harrier 16s. a week; that of a collar-maker 14s. a week; and that of a waggoner 7s. a week. The last four were also allowed $1\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of bread a day. This list is useful because it affords a basis for comparison: for example, we learn that the wages of the conductor were reckoned to be too high.

On December 13 Torrington, James's Brigadier in Limerick, asks officers and men to forsake William's cause, promising them protection and transport to France if they so desire. On January 27, 1691, Tyrconnel issues a proclamation, offering rewards to deserters who feel sensible of the injustice of William's cause and are reduced to great extremity for want of pay and subsistence. A trooper or a dragoon with a horse is to receive two pistoles in gold or silver, and a common soldier only one. They are to be conveyed to France if they like. These extracts convey some idea of the varied contents of the Clarke correspondence.

THE ARCHBISHOP KING CORRESPONDENCE.

As the names of Chichele and Laud are to the University of Oxford, so is that of William King to the University of Dublin. He was also a statesman with a broad outlook upon men and affairs. He stands in the front rank of archbishops, and is

easily the greatest archbishop to preside over the See of Dublin. On all sides of English and of Irish life and thought his letters add much to our knowledge and understanding of the past. Till recently the Library of Trinity College, though it owned many of his letters, did not own the Lyons collection which has now come into its possession.* In this collection the correspondence runs from 1681 to 1729. It passed into the hands of the Rev. Robert Spence, Rector of Donaghmore, and remained with the Spence family till about 1810. In the Lyons collection there are eleven boxes, which will make about twenty-four volumes, and this affords some idea of its extent. In the Public Library, Armagh, there is a volume containing letters from July, 1715, to October, 1716. The Southwell correspondence in the British Museum also contains important communications to and from the Archbishop. Among the MSS. of Lieut.-Colonel W. R. King, of Tertowie, Kinellar, Co. Aberdeen, there are also autograph MSS. of King.

Before its acquisition of the Lyons collection Trinity College possessed fourteen volumes of the correspondence, and they covered the years from 1696 to 1727. T. Fisher transcribed the correspondence from 1699 to 1715 in three volumes. It is very much to the credit of the Board of the College that they are now employing that accurate writer,

* On King's letters, cf. Hist. MSS. Comm., Second Report, pp. 231 ff.; Third Report, p. 416; and Eighth Report, ii., p. 231.

Mr. E. A. Phelps, to transcribe some of the fading ink. There are also King's accounts, 1692-1711, and 1715-23, three volumes; his accounts, 1721-22, with petitions and letters addressed to him as Lord Justice. There is a MS. copy of his "Treatise and Principles of Church Government." Another volume contains letters chiefly from G. Tollett, 1679-96, and also from Archbishop Marsh, John Parnell, Thomas Parnell, Robert Pearson, and others: the dates of these run from 1700 to 1713. Two books contain copies of King's correspondence when he was Bishop of Derry; the dates of these are 1699 and from 1702 to 1703. There is a MS. copy of his "Discourse against Dissenters": it is corrected throughout in his own hand. In it he replies to "Some Impartial Considerations, and Mr. King's Answer," printed in 1687, and to a certain "Prefacer." There is King's "Treatise in Defence of the Church against Protestant Dissenters." There is also a separate sermon on Isa. lix. 6, some sermons in a volume much injured by damp, and some in another volume not nearly so much injured.

In 1867 Dr. Reeves transcribed King's autobiography from a copy preserved in the Public Library, Armagh, with an English summary in another hand: it is in Latin. To this was added a detailed list of the prelate's publications, and an account of the numerous writings to which his works gave rise among Dissenters, both Protestant and Roman Catholic. Dr. Abbott published the autobiography

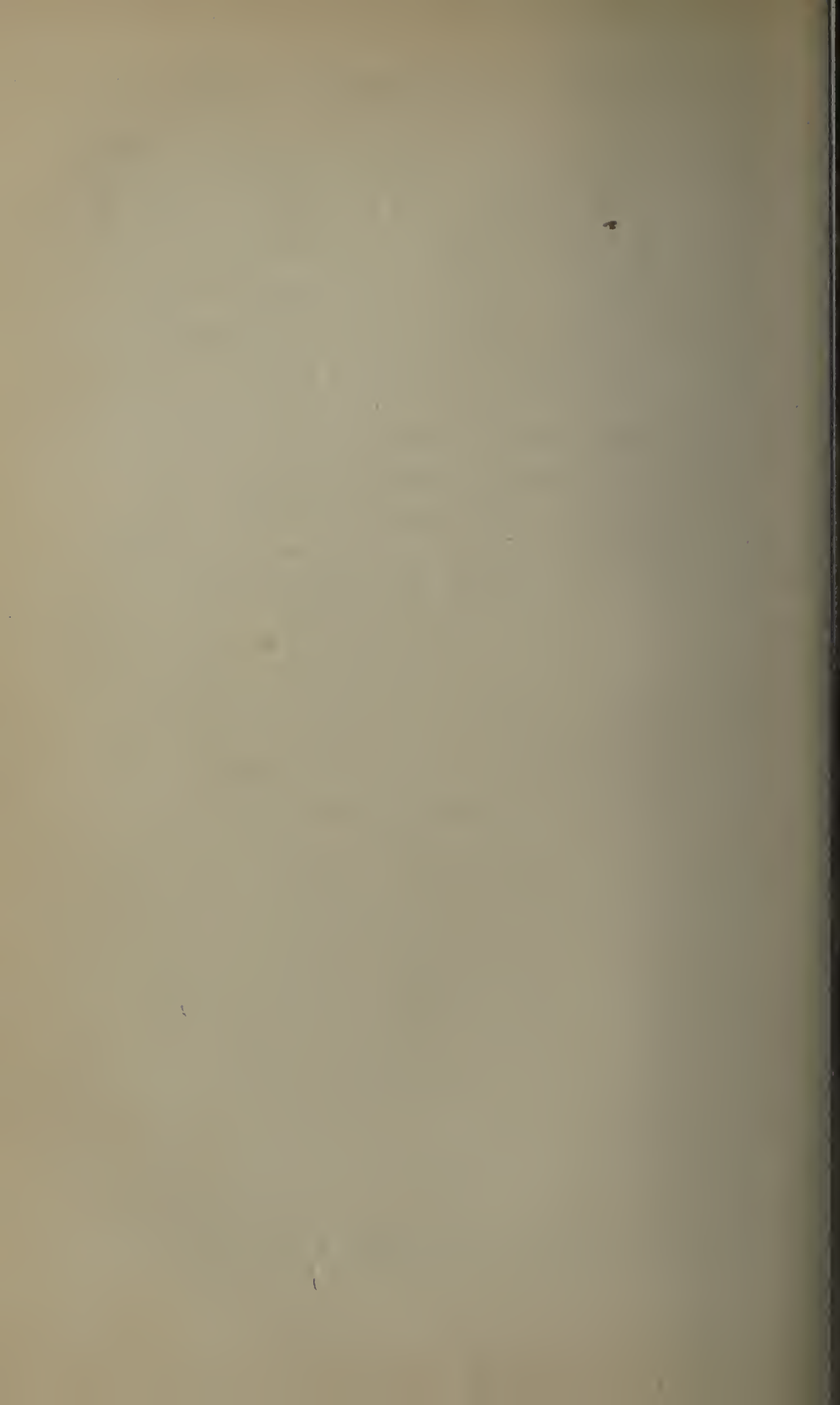
in the *English Historical Review**: it is also printed in Sir C. S. King's "Great Archbishop of Dublin." There is a catalogue of King's library: it is alphabetically arranged.

The correspondents of the Archbishop include: Jacques Abbadie, Dean of Dromore; Lord Abercorn; Robert Adair; Joseph Addison; Lord Anglesey; Francis Annesley, Commissioner for Irish Forfeitures; St. George Ashe, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and Bishop successively of Cloyne, Clogher, and Derry; Lord Athenry; Lady Beresford; George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne; Theophilus Bolton, Bishop of Elphin; James Bonnell, Accountant-General of Ireland; his widow, Jane Bonnell; Lord Breadalbane; Peter Browne, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin; Sir Richard Bulkeley, F.R.S.; Gilbert Burnet; Ezekiel Burridge; Dr. Arthur Charlett, Master of University College, Oxford; Lord Clifford; Henry Compton, Bishop of London; Thomas Coningsby, Lord Justice of Ireland; Sir Richard Fox; Charles Delafaye; Patrick Delany; Simon Digby, Bishop of Limerick and Elphin; Henry Dodwell; Dive Downs, Bishop of Cork; the Countess of Drogheda; Sir Patrick Dun, Physician to the State in Ireland; Lord Dungarvan; William Fitzgerald, Bishop of Clonfert; Nathaniel Foy, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore; Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London; Lord Gormans-town; Lady Gormanstown; the Duke of Grafton, the Lord-Lieutenant; General Frederick Hamil-

* Vol. xiii., pp. 309 ff.

ton, M.P. for Coleraine, Privy Councillor, and Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Foot; Sir Patrick Hamilton; William Hamilton, Archdeacon of Armagh, author of the "Life" of Bonnell; Charles Hickman, Bishop of Derry; Francis Higgins; John Hooper, Bishop of Bangor; Robert Howard, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, Bishop of Killala and of Elphin; Lord Howth; Francis Hutcheson, author of "System of Moral Philosophy"; Lady Lanesborough; Sir Arthur Langford; Samuel Leeson, Mayor of Derry; Sir Richard Levinge, Solicitor-General, Attorney-General, and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Lord Limerick; Owen Lloyd; William Lloyd, Bishop of Worcester; Francis Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin; Lord Meath; Thomas Mills, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore; Robert Molesworth; Samuel Molyneux, secretary to the Prince of Wales; John Moore, Bishop of Norwich; Lord Mount Alexander; Lord Mountjoy; Lord Mountrath; William Nicholson, Bishop of Carlisle and of Derry; William Palliser, Archbishop of Cashel; Sir Lawrence Parsons; John Robinson, Bishop of London; Alexander Rose, Bishop of Edinburgh; William Sheridan, Bishop of Kilmore; Edward Smith, Bishop of Down and Connor; Thomas Smyth, Bishop of Lismore; Lord Southwell; Sir Robert Southwell, Secretary for Ireland, and his son and successor, Edward Southwell; Sir John St. Leger, Baron of Exchequer; John Stearne, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, Bishop of Dromore and of Clogher; George Story, Dean of Limerick;

the Earl of Sunderland, Lord-Lieutenant; Viscount Sydney, Lord Justice and Lord - Lieutenant; Richard Tenison, Bishop of Clogher; Benjamin Tooke; Charles Trimnell, Bishop of Norwich; John Vesey, Archbishop of Tuam; Bartholomew Vigors, Bishop of Ferns; William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury; Edward Wettenhall, Bishop of Kilmore; Charles Willoughby, M.D.; Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man; and Thomas Wyndham, Chancellor of Ireland. Addison appears in a curious light. Of course, eager attention will be fastened on the letters to and from Jonathan Swift, the formidable Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin.



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IRELAND, 1494-1603

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PREFACE

MR. DUNLOP in "The Cambridge Modern History," vol. iii pp. 852-859, compiled an exhaustive bibliography of the period. Of course, since it was written in 1904, some important books have appeared. I may be permitted to refer to my "Public Record Office, Dublin," for guidance to the documents in that institution. For example, in that book I deal with the Privy Council, and consequently omit the subject in the present book. I should like to add that Miss C. Maxwell is about to give us valuable extracts from sixteenth-century documents.

ROBERT H. MURRAY.

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IRELAND, 1494—1603

PARLIAMENTARY RECORDS, 1494—1603.

It is not possible to secure a printed edition of all the statutes of the sixteenth century. In 1569 James Stanistrot, the Speaker of the House of Commons, suggested that there should be an edition of the statute law of Ireland, and he authorised James Hooker, alias Vowell, the Exeter antiquary, to print the statutes at his expense. The patent issued to Hooker laid down that "divers Parliaments have been holden in Ireland, and divers statutes and acts made in the same, which laws being never put into printe have been altogether turned into oblivion."¹ Still, the matter came to nothing. In 1621 Sir Richard Bolton, afterward Lord Chancellor of Ireland, published in one folio volume the first collected edition of the statutes. In 1765 B. Grierson, the King's printer, commenced the issue of "The Statutes at Large passed in the Parliaments held in Ireland from the third year of Edward II., A.D. 1310, to the first year of George III., A.D. 1761, inclusive." The statutes passed after 1621 had been regularly printed, but Grierson ignored many of the medieval statutes—*e.g.*, those contained on the extant rolls of Parliament from the reign of Edward II. to the seventh year of Edward VI. Even all the statutes of the reign of Henry VII. are not set forth. Mr. Twiss (or Berry) is supplementing these grave omissions, but the last of the three volumes he has published only comes down to the days of Edward IV. There are transcripts of the Irish statutes preserved in the Record Office, Dublin. These the student must read in order to understand the whole field of the activities of Parliament. Transmisses were the Bills sent by the King in Council to the Council Board in Ireland, as having the King's sanction to be debated and passed by the Parliament in Ireland. The Bills took their rise then with the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, and were sent over for approval of the King in Council in London. On approval there they were transmitted to Ireland as sanctioned by the King, and

¹ "Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts," vol. i., p. 387.

hence their name as "Transmisses." These Transmisses range from 27 Henry VIII. to 1800.

The Journals of the Lower House afford no help in eking out the scanty records, for they only commence with the year 1634. The obscurity of the early history of Parliament is obvious from the consideration that in 1613 Sir John Davis, the Speaker, could not ascertain the procedure of the House. If the reader turns to the twentieth chapter on Parliamentary Antiquities in the third volume of Bishop Stubbs's "Constitutional History of England," he will at once see how widely different was the position of the English Speaker. The influence of Westminster was actively felt in Dublin. For in 1495 the Irish House of Lords insisted that the robes worn by its peers must be of the same pattern as those worn by the English peers.¹

An odd chance dispels some of our ignorance. In 1569 the historian Campion was stopping with the Speaker, Stanihurst, and he gives us a report of the speech of the Lord Deputy, Sir H. Sydney, at the opening of Parliament, and that of the Speaker to the Lord Deputy. The speeches of these two officials at the prorogation concerned the education of the people. Stanihurst was able to congratulate his audience on the passing of an Act for the erection of Free Grammar Schools, though he regretted that "our hap is not to plant yet an University here at home." So much for the matter of the 1569 Parliament.

The manner of ceremony in use demands attention. Here we are fortunate, for Robert le Commaundre, Rector of Tarporley in Cheshire, happened to be present. He records the scene in the House of Lords on the opening day in January, 1569: "The Lord Deputy of Ireland sat under the cloth of estate in his own robes of crimson velvet, representing the Queen's Majesty's most royal person. Item, Robert Weston, doctor of laws, and Dean of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick's, Dublin, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, sat on the right side of the said Lord Deputy. Item, Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond and Ossory, Viscount Thurles, High Treasurer of Ireland, sat on the left of the said Lord Deputy. Memorandum, that these two lords sat

¹ 10 Henry VII., c. 16.

verally above by themselves, one either side of the said Lord Deputy, having their seats enrailed about, and hanged covered with green; and the said Lord Deputy had steps or gresses (stairs) made and covered for the seat of the estate, being richly hanged. . . . Memorandum, that the Chief Justices of the one bench and the other, the Chief Baron, the Master of the Rolls, and the Queen's Majesty's Attorney-General and her Highness's Solicitor, did sit together at a table in the midst of the Parliament House (*i.e.*, Christ Church Cathedral). Memorandum, that Mr. Stanihurst, Recorder of the City of Dublin, was Speaker of the lower House, and did wear for his upper garment, when the Lord Deputy sat in the higher house under the cloth of estate, a scarlet gown; and this Mr. Stanihurst was a very wise man and a good member of the Commonwealth of Ireland."

In Plantagenet Parliaments the Lord Chancellor and the High Treasurer were accorded the precedence they still kept in the Elizabethan Irish Parliament. How much English procedure influenced Irish is evident from the preamble to the early Acts of the Irish Parliament, for according to the preamble the Legislature was composed of the Lord Deputy, the Chancellor and Treasurer, and all the lords spiritual and temporal, and the King's Council in Ireland." The Egerton MS. provides us with a list of the lords spiritual and temporal in the Irish Parliament, 1568-69.¹

John Hooker, uncle of the famous theologian, wrote a diary or journal, January 17 to February 23, 1568-69,² supplementing the account of the ceremonies which Commaundre gives. It is noteworthy that Hooker, like Rattan and Flood, was a member both of the Irish and the English Legislatures, and no doubt he used his influence to bring the ceremonial of Westminster and Dublin into closer accordance.³ For the information of his fellow members he drew up the book of the orders of the Parliaments

¹ Reprinted in C. Litton Falkiner, "Essays Relating to Ireland," pp. 233-236. The Egerton MS. is a British Museum MS., 2642, No. 29, 282.

² C. Litton Falkiner, "Essays Relating to Ireland," pp. 237-240. The Journal is now in Cambridge University Library.

³ Bagwell, "Ireland under the Tudors," vol. iii., p. 142; Mountmorres, "Ancient Parliaments of Ireland," vol. i., p. 87.

employed in England, which is printed in his contribution to the Irish portion of Holinshed's "Chronicles."¹ Hooker's "Order and Usage how to keep a Parliament in England" shaped Irish procedure. His diary furnishes us with what is in effect the first unofficial extant Journal of the House of Commons. He gives us the figures in the divisions which took place on the main questions debated. These questions turned on constitutional issues, and among them were the validity of the sheriff's return to the writ of summons, the title of certain members to be returned to Parliament, and the like. On the latter matter the judges gave their decision, but the Parliament required them to appear in person. The first nine leaves of the Carte MS. 61, gives us the earliest formal Journal of Parliament: it records the proceedings of Sir J. Perrot's Parliament, May 3, 1585, to May 13, 1586.² Unlike Hooker's, it is not written in narrative form and is not in the first person. It gives the days of meeting, the prorogations, the readings, and the success or the failure of measures.

On the sixteenth century there are seventeen volumes of calendars of State Papers published. Eleven of these volumes consider the state of Ireland from 1509 to 1603: these have been edited by H. C. Hamilton (vols. i.-v.); by E. G. Atkinson (vols. vi.-x.); and by R. P. Mahaffy (vol. xi.).³ J. S. Brewer and W. Bullen edited six volumes of the Carew Papers,⁴ which are preserved in Lambeth Library: they cover the period from 1515 to 1624. There is much unpublished matter in the Record Offices, Dublin and London. In the latter there are the documents dealt with in the Calendars above named—viz., Letters and Papers, 1509-March, 1603, 248 volumes; an Entry Book, April, 1597, to March, 1599, 1 volume; an Entry Book of Correspondence 1587-90, 1 volume; Dr. M. Hanmer's Collection of Historical Notes, 1 volume; Accounts and Valors, 1536-46, 4 volumes; Revenue Accounts, 1547-51, 1 volume; a Coinage Account

¹ 1586-87. No place of publication.

² *E. H. R.*, vol. xxix., pp. 104-117. In an able article Mr. F. J. Routledge deals with this Parliament, and gives the Journal *in extenso*. Cf. Russell and Prendergast's "Report on the Carte Papers" (1871) p. 24. The rest of MS. 61 consists of official papers of Sir John Davi and Sir Arthur Chichester for the year 1613.

³ London, 1860-1912.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1867-73.

1559, 1 volume; and Miscellaneous Accounts, 1581-85, 2 volumes. These documents bear on the general course of the history of the country, but there is a great deal of parliamentary material scattered among them. One fact emerges from them, and that is the conservatism of the Irish Parliament.

The fact that Parliament met so irregularly during the sixteenth century goes to show that it was not the governing force. For example, no Parliament sat from 1586 to 1613. Influence rested with the Lord Deputy and the Privy Council. As a matter of fact the Secretary of State controlled the course of Irish affairs. Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell, Burghley and Sir Robert Cecil¹ exercised paramount power. There is no book, like A. V. Dicey's "Privy Council,"² describing the work of the Privy Council. Such a volume is a desideratum for Ireland.

None of the older books are of much value in elucidating the past of the Irish Parliament. Viscount Mountmorres's History of the Principal Transactions of the Irish Parliament from 1634 to 1666"³ is simply an analysis of the contents of the printed Journals. His "Preliminary Discourse of the Ancient Parliament of that Kingdom" is largely a reprint of John Hooker's "Order and Usage how to keep a Parliament in England." T. Beatson gives the hereditary honours, public offices, and persons in office from the earliest times to 1806. His third volume records Irish information.⁴ On the subject of Beatson's book there is the all-important "Liber Munerum publicorum Hiberniæ, 1152-1824"⁵ of J. Lascelles. In his sixth volume T. H. B. Oldfield deals with the Irish boroughs.⁶ Monck Mason's "Essay on the Antiquity and Constitution of Parliaments in Ireland"⁷ is a book with a purpose. It is written to refute the opinion of Sir John Davis that there was no separate Parliament for Ireland for 140 years from the time of Henry II. William

¹ See his letters, edited by J. Maclean. Camden Society. London, 1864.

² London, 1887.

³ London, 1792, 2 vols.

⁴ "Political Index to the Histories of Great Britain and Ireland." London, 1806.

⁵ London, 1824. Indexed in Appendix III. to the Ninth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland. Dublin, 1877.

⁶ Representative History of Great Britain and Ireland. London, 1816.

⁷ Dublin, 1820.

Lynch's "View of the Legal Institutions, Honorary Hereditary Offices, and Feudal Baronies of Ireland"¹ scarcely reaches the Tudor period. Sir William Betham's "Origin and History of the Constitution of England and the Early Parliaments of Ireland"² stops with the reign of Richard III.

In the seventh chapter of the first volume of Mr. Bagwell's "Ireland under the Tudors"³ there is an able sketch of the Irish Parliament. Of course, it is no more than an outline, but it is a good outline. In the "Irish Legislative Systems"⁴ of the Right Hon. J. T. Ball there is in the first chapter a survey of the course of the early Parliaments. In its twenty pages the author brings us down to the year 1613. By far the best account is that of Mr. E. Porritt in his "Unreformed House of Commons."⁵ It is based on adequate knowledge, and this knowledge is presented in masterly chapters. Like Mr. Ball's book, its strength lies in the survey of the eighteenth century. At the same time the hints on the sixteenth century are illuminating, and at the moment it is easily the best book in existence. The late Mr. Litton Falkiner had pondered the past of our Parliament long and deeply. In his "Essays relating to Ireland"⁶ there is an essay on "Irish Parliamentary Antiquities,"⁷ which is packed with ideas and with information. Mr. G. P. Gooch calls him the best-equipped scholar in the field of modern Irish history since Lecky,⁸ and an essay like this proves how sound is such a judgment. He is the only writer who spends his strength on the sixteenth century. Mr. J. G. Swift MacNeill published "The Constitutional and Parliamentary History of Ireland till the Union."⁹ His book suffers seriously from the plan on which it is written. He takes the speeches delivered in 1782 at once into consideration. Such speeches are not the source to which an historian goes when in search of exact information. There is no addition to our knowledge of the past history of Parliament in a book which is essentially a pamphlet written from a Nationalist point of view. It is a pamphlet good of its kind; still, it is a pamphlet.

¹ London, 1830. ² *Ibid.*, 1830. ³ *Ibid.*, 1885. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 1889.

⁵ Cambridge, 1903, vol. ii. ⁶ London, 1909. ⁷ Pp. 193-240.

⁸ "History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century," p. 400.

⁹ London, 1917.

One fruitful source of inquiry is to ascertain how far the Irish Parliament was influenced by the Scots and English. There are parallels with the Scots, for Poynings' Law and the Committee of Articles are similar in their effects. The Scots Parliament was never modelled on that of the English, whereas the Irish undoubtedly was. The Mother of Parliaments had for her first offspring the Irish Parliament. We pass by the fact that the English and the Irish Parliaments possessed upper and lower chambers, but it is significant that the representative system by which the Irish House was elected was practically identical with the electoral system of England as affected by that epoch-making measure, the statute of 1430, which remained in force to 1832. The forty-shilling freehold lay at the basis of both English and Irish county representation. As in England, each county in Ireland had two knights of the shire to represent it, and these knights were chosen in the county court. In borough representation there had been developed the freeman franchise; the franchise controlled entirely by municipal corporations; the potwalloper franchise, which closely resembled the potwalloper franchise of England; and the freehold franchise in manor boroughs, which resembled the burgage franchise of the boroughs of England. In Mr. Porritt's¹ opinion, a history of the procedure and usages of the Irish House of Commons would tell only of the adoption of English orders and usages. He holds that "it is not possible to discover in the Irish Journals any procedure which had not its origin in Westminster."² Mr. Litton Falkiner also takes this position.³

The first person to be really styled the Lord Lieutenant seems to have been Lionel, Earl of Ulster and Duke of Clarence, who came to Ireland in 1361. It became usual for a member of the Royal Family to be sent as Lord Lieutenant, though he discharged the duties of his office by means of a deputy. In time the title of Deputy was bestowed on the Governors of Ireland, even when there was no Lord Lieutenant actually appointed. The real influence lay in the hands of the Lord Deputy. Thus from 1478 to

¹ "The Unreformed House of Commons," vol. ii., p. 404.

² *Ibid.*, p. 404.

³ "Essays relating to Ireland," pp. 202, 203.

1526 the rulers of the country were the Earls of Kildare, who were Lords Deputy. They through the Privy Council controlled the doings of Parliament.

The method of electing the Speaker, certainly from 1568, was the same as in England. On the assembling of a new Parliament the Commons adjourned to the House of Lords. When the Lord Deputy had made a speech, the Lord Chancellor ordered them to return to their own House in order to elect a Speaker. English usage determined the choice of the House, and the Speaker-elect came to the Lord Deputy for approval. As at Westminster, he begged that "some man of more gravity and better experience, knowledge and learning might supply the place."¹ The first Speaker whose name we can ascertain is John Chever, Master of the Rolls, and his date is 1449. In 1541 Sir Thomas Cusake, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was Speaker, and in 1557 he was succeeded by James Stanihurst, who was thrice elected. In 1585 Stanihurst was succeeded by Sir Nicholas Walsh, Chief Justice of Munster and Second Justice of the Queen's Bench. The Speaker was always a Crown nominee, and for the most part he reflected faithfully the behests of the Lord Deputy. Speaker Cusake nominally vindicated the liberties of his order, but at the same time he insisted on the authority of the Crown and the respect due to the royal prerogative. Unlike the English customs, the Speaker did not ask that a favourable construction might be put upon his actions, though he claimed the usual liberties of the Commons—freedom from arrest and freedom of speech. Unlike the English custom, he did not require freedom of access to the person of the Sovereign, though he did require that if a member misconducted himself, the punishment should rest exclusively in the control of the House over which he presided.² In the reign of Edward IV. privilege was regulated by statute. In 1463 a measure was passed, modelled upon the law of the English Parliament, under which members were to be "impleaded, vexed, nor troubled by no man" from forty days before until forty after a session of Parliament.

¹ Hooker's account in Mountmorres, vol. i., pp. 71, 72.

² Holinshed, vol. vi., pp. 342, 353. Cf. Stubbs, vol. iii., p. 472.

There was no struggle between the Irish House of Commons and the Irish House of Lords such as that which marks the annals of Westminster. One reason is that the Irish Upper House was a small and feeble body. Another was that it possessed no power to originate a money Bill, and it possessed no right to alter or amend such Bills. With this fruitful source of trouble removed, there was little likelihood of conflict. The English Bills of 1405-6, of 1427, of 1429, and of 1444, regulated the machinery for Irish elections. There was only one Irish law of the sixteenth century—that of 1542—which attempted to legislate on this topic. By the Bill of 1542 a sheriff who returned a member contrary to its provisions as to landed qualification and residence was liable to a penalty of a hundred pounds.

It is difficult to ascertain the position of the clergy in Parliament before 1537. That year the 28 Henry VIII., 12, took from their proctors the right of "voice or suffrage," and ordered that they should attend only as counsellors and assistants." This in effect extinguished their influence, which had long been extinguished at Westminster. The clergy assessed their own taxes, and in 1538 granted the King an annual twentieth of all their promotions, benefices, and possessions. During the Reformation there was an attempt to employ proctorial influence to defeat the legislation of Henry VIII.'s advisers. It was urged that the proctors enjoyed a status like that of the prelates: what the proctors were in the Lower House the bishops were in the Upper. The bishops of Ireland supported the proctors in this position. The Deputy referred the question to the judges, and they decided that the proctors had no voice in Parliament.¹

Like the Parliaments of England and Scotland, it was some time before the Irish Parliament acquired a fixed home. The Plantagenet Deputies convoked it to meet at Trim, Kilkenny, and Drogheda. Other places of meeting were Naas, Wexford, Limerick, Baldoyl, Castledermot, Waterford, and Cashel. In the reign of Elizabeth Dublin

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. ii., pt. iii., p. 438: Gray and Brabazon Cromwell, May 18, 1537.

became its home, although even in the metropolis it met in places like the Hall of the Carmelites in Whitefriars Street, Kilmainham Priory, and Christ Church Cathedral. The Parliaments of 1568-71 and 1585-86 met in Dublin Castle.

Before the changes introduced by James I. there were only forty-four boroughs. Here there is obscurity. For there is no extant list of members between 1382 and 1559. In 1382 there were eighteen counties or districts and eleven towns represented, and in 1559 there were ten counties and twenty-eight cities and boroughs returning two members each. In 1541 the Upper House was the more important of the two, and was attended by four archbishops, nineteen bishops, and twenty temporal peers.

The Lancastrian and Yorkist kings summoned Parliament quite often. Under Henry VII. there were at least six Parliaments assembled. As deputy for the Lord Lieutenant, Jasper, Duke of Bedford, the Archbishop of Dublin, Walter, held the first in 1492. There was the Parliament held by Sir Edward Poynings at Drogheda in 1494, two held by Lord Gormanston at Trim and Drogheda respectively, one by Gerald, Earl of Kildare, at Castledermot in 1498, and one held by another Earl of Kildare which met at Dublin and later at Castledermot. Ware in his "Annals" regrets the fact that the laws of the 1498 Parliament were not upon record in his time. He tells us that one Nangle was imprisoned in England on a charge of having surreptitiously removed the Rolls.

The noteworthy Parliaments held were those which met in 1494, 1508, 1533, 1536-37, 1541-42, 1556, 1559, 1568-69, and 1585-86. The 1536-37 Parliament is the one which passed the Reformation measures, though the proctors of the clergy offered stout opposition, especially objecting to the King being declared supreme head of the Church. The 1541-42 Parliament declared Henry VIII. King of Ireland. Domestic legislation in it was modelled on English lines. In the 1568-69 House there was so much confusion that it was more "like to a bear-baiting of loose persons than an assembly of grave and wise men in Parliament." It was then that Hooker proffered assistance to Speaker Stanihurst.

POYNINGS' LAW.

Behind all these assemblies lay the fact that they were not a sovereign body, for Poynings' Law controlled all their affairs. Now there is no statute so seriously misunderstood. Take the work of such a scholar as A. G. Richey. He represents it as "the most disgraceful Act ever passed by an independent Legislature, and wrung from this local assembly of the Pale," binding "future Parliament for three hundred years."¹ Of course, P. W. Joyce follows this opinion.²

Poynings' Acts are two in number. By the first it is laid down, in 1494, that no future Parliaments should be held in Ireland, "but at such season as the King's Lieutenant and Council there first do certify the King under the great seal of that land (*i.e.*, Ireland), the causes and considerations, and all such Acts as then seemeth should pass in the same Parliament, and such causes, considerations, and Acts affirmed by the King and his Council to be good and expedient for that land, and his licence thereupon, as well as affirmation of the said causes and Acts as to summon the said Parliament under the great seal of England, had and obtained. That done, a Parliament to be had and holden after the form and effect afore rehearsed, and if any Parliament be holden in that land hereafter contrary to the form and provisions aforesaid, it be deemed void and of none effect in law." The second Act, which is of minor importance, provides that all public statutes "later made within the said realm of England" apply to Ireland.

The clue to the understanding of the measure is to note what evils it was meant to cure in the eyes of contemporaries. The history of the two generations preceding 1494 immediately reveals the fact that the Lord Deputy was fast assuming the powers of a Sovereign. The Kildares declared peace and war as if they were kings. Lords Deputy, like them, had assented to Bills without any reference to England or to English policy. Differences between the

¹ "A Short History of the Irish People," p. 232.

² "A Short History of Ireland," pp. 348-349. Dr. Bonn also misconceives the working of this law. Cf. his "Der englische Kolonisation in Irland," vol. i., pp. 108, 163.

policies of Dublin and Westminster were becoming prominent. The Lord-Deputy summoned Parliament when, where, and how he willed. The truth, then, is that the far-reaching enactment of 1494 was meant as a protection to the Anglo-Irish, and they at once regarded it in that light. Deputies used to commit treason, and all the Anglo-Irish were held responsible. Now the Deputies could no longer do as they please. The native Irish felt no restrictions from the new measure, for it was only enforced within the Pale. The origin of Poynings' Law was simply the desire of the Irish Parliament to confine the authority of the Deputies within bounds.

As all the ordinary histories repeat the mistakes of men like Richey, it is worth while to elaborate the *raison d'être* of the 1494 Act. The Irish unpublished statutes of the Yorkists reveal the fact that the history of Ireland turns on the rivalry of the Houses of Butler and FitzGerald. When a Butler was Lord Deputy he occupied his time in seeking revenge on his rivals, and of course the Anglo-Irish endured much hardship in the process. Under Edward IV. the Kildares continue this story. The climax was reached in the Simnel affair when "the ladde," as an Irish statute puts it, was crowned. It was plain that if the authority of the King of Ireland was not to vanish, the Lords Deputy must be brought under strict control. That control came with effect in 1494, and the Anglo-Irish hailed Poynings' statute with delight.

The remedy to an evil always reveals some inconvenience due to it. Poynings' Law hampered the Deputy, but it also hampered the work of government. In the sixteenth century there were no telephones, and sudden emergencies could no longer be met by the Lord Deputy himself. A letter took a month for an answer, and much might happen in the interval. It is evident from a letter from Audeley, the English Chancellor, to Thomas Cromwell that this inconvenience was felt in 1533. "I have seen," Audeley writes, "the Act made in Ireland in Poynings' time. I do not take that Act as they take it in Ireland; nevertheless . . . I have made a short Act that this Parliament and everything to be done by authority thereof, shall be good

and effectual, the said Act made in Poynings' time, or any other Act or usage of the land of Ireland notwithstanding."¹ Accordingly, in spite of the 1494 measure, the Acts of Lord Leonard Gray's Parliament of 1533 should be deemed valid. How temporary and limited was the nature of the suspension is clear, for it only applied to Bills required for "the King's honour, the increase of his Grace's revenues and profits, and the commonweal of the land and dominion of Ireland." Popular opinion disliked this use of the dispensing power so strongly that it did not affect the property of individuals or of corporations. Poynings' Act was also suspended in 1537 and 1542.

In 1557 another emergency arose, and the Earl of Sussex, who called the only Parliament of Mary's reign, brought forward a measure, "declaring how Poynings' Act shall be expounded and taken." "Forasmuch," it points out, "as many events and occasions may happen during the time of Parliament, the which shall be thought meet and necessary to be provided for, and yet at or before the time of the summoning of the Parliament, was not thought nor agreed upon," it is proper to provide for the extension of Poynings' Act to legislation formulated during the session. In 1557, unlike 1533, the Act is not suspended. Sussex was Deputy in the first Parliament of Elizabeth, and he takes care in it not to infringe the provisions of the 1494 Act.

In the time of Elizabeth the Irish Government pressed for the suspension of Poynings' Law. The English in Ireland opposed this pressure vigorously. Their feeling is clear in the Act passed in 1569 for safeguarding Poynings' Act. It declares that before 1494 Acts were passed in the Irish Parliament "as well to the dishonour of the prince as to the hindrance of their subjects." In order to increase their security it was declared that for the future there "be no Bill certified into England for the repeal or suspension of the said statute," unless the same Bill be first agreed on in a session of the Irish Parliament "by the more number of the Lords assembled in Parliament, and the greater number of the Commons House."

It is remarkable that in writing to Sir H. Sydney, January

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. i., pt. ii., p. 440.

16, 1557, Elizabeth uses language implying the customary view of the 1494 Act. "Whereas," she wrote, "we understand you are desirous to have authority to call a Parliament, the rather for the receiving of our subsidy there . . . before we assented thereunto we could have been contented to have had advertisement from you what other matters you thought most meet to be commended in the same for the benefit of our service. For, except the same might appear very necessary, we have small disposition to assent to any Parliament. Nevertheless, when we call to remembrance the ancient manner of that our realm, that no manner of thing ought to be commended or treated upon, but such as we shall first understand from you, and consent thereunto ourself, and consequently return the same under our great seal of this our realm of England, we are the better minded to assent to this your request. And I authorise you to devise with our council there only of such things as may appear beneficial for us and that our realm."¹

In spite of this letter Sydney, knowing the course taken by his predecessors, Gray, St. Leger, and Sussex, adopted their plan of suspending the operation of Poynings' Act. In Dublin he realised the difficulties of the course proposed by his royal mistress. The Irish Parliament would warmly resent the removal of the protection Poynings had afforded them. The safer method was to introduce new members for the boroughs, and he nominated them for boroughs under the control of the Crown. Irish opinion was as hostile to any tampering with their protection as of old. In spite of the borough members, the opposition to Sydney's Bill for suspension waxed strong. Hooker's diary informs us that it passed the first reading without a division, that on its second reading there were 50 votes for it and 40 against it, but on the third reading there were only 44 for it and 48 against it. Lord Chancellor Weston wrote, February 17, 1569, to Cecil: "The first Bill that was read was touching the suspending of Poynings' Act; a good and profitable Bill, and worthy of much favour; and so we thought it would have found. But it was handled as things are used to be that fall into angry men's hands; without good advice

¹ C. S. P., "Ireland, 1509-73," p. 324.

and consideration it was with great earnestness and stomach overthrown and dashed."¹

The Commons had gained a notable victory, and the cost was the inability to pass any legislation—if Parliament did not accept unaltered the Bills approved by the English Privy Council. In the opinion of the judges, amendments were out of order on the ground that they would change the measures, and hence they could not be said to have had the approval of London. Driven by the force of circumstances, on February 21 the Commons, after prorogation, passed the Act for the suspension of Poynings' Act. In so doing they asserted the ideas of 1494 by passing an Act "that there be no Bill certified into England for the repeal or suspending of the statute passed in Poynings' time before the same Bill be first agreed on in a session of Parliament holden in this realm by the greater number of the lords and commons."

This incident by no means stands alone. In the last Parliament of Elizabeth, called by Sir John Perrot on May 3, 1585,² the repeal of the Act of 1494 was mooted. The ministers tried to show how the Irish Parliament was hampered by it, for it was "shut up and forbidden to make any law or statute unless the same be first certified into England." Perrot proposed to confer with the Commons concerning any measures introduced. It was all in vain. Two popular leaders, Burnell and Netterville, members for Dublin County, protested vigorously. By the large majority of 35 the Bill was thrown out.³ Like Sydney, Perrot prorogued Parliament and it met at Drogheda, where no business was transacted. He brought the Bill forward again at Dublin, and a second time it was rejected. It is plain that the majority regarded Poynings' Law not as a badge of servitude, but as the mark of their protection from the tyranny of the Lord Deputy.

¹ C. S. P., "Ireland," vol. xxvii., No. 25.

² Cf. "Historical Tracts by Sir John Davis," p. 306, edition 1786. Lists of members of both Houses of the Parliaments of 1560 and 1585 are printed in "Tracts relating to Ireland" (Irish Archæological Society, Dublin, 1843). Cf. C. S. P., "Ireland, 1574-85," p. 561.

³ C. S. P., "Ireland," vol. cxvi., No. 56.

THE REFORMATION.

✓ The State Papers, English and Irish, and the Carew Papers testify plainly to the deplorable state of religion year before the Reformation. In 1515 an Irishman and a deeply religious man testifies: "Some sayeth that the prelates of the Church and clergy is much cause of all the misorder of the land; for there is no archbishop ne bishop, abbot ne prior, parson ne vicar, ne any other person of the Church high or low, great or small, English or Irish, that useth to preach the Word of God, saving the poor friars beggars and where the Word of God do cease, there can be no grace; and without the special (grace) of God this land may never be reformed. And by the preaching and teaching of prelates of the Church, and by prayer and orison of devout persons of the same, God useth alway to grant his abundant grace; ergo, the Church, not using the premises, is much cause of all the said misorder of this land."¹ He proceeded to show that "the noble folk of Ireland oppresseth, spoileth the prelates of the Church of Christ of their possessions and liberties; and therefore they have no fortune ne grace, in prosperity of body ne soul. Who supporteth the Church of Christ in Ireland save the poor commons?" There is need for an investigation of the self-denying efforts in the regular work of the seculars and in the irregular work of the Spanish, French, and English friars.

Archdeacon H. Cotton compiled an invaluable "*Fastes Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ*."² The Rev. St. J. D. Seymour gives "The succession of parochial clergy in the united diocese of Cashel and Emly,"³ and tells the history of "The Diocese of Emly."⁴ M. Archdall's "*Monasticon Hibernicum*" recounts the history of the abbeys, priories, and other religious houses in Ireland.⁵

There are documents in J. Bale's extraordinary "*Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the Byshopperrycke of Ossorie*"⁶; N

¹ C. S. P., Henry VIII., vol. ii., p. 15.

² Six vols. Dublin, 1851-78.

³ Dublin, 1908.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1913.

⁵ London, 1786. There is an edition by P. F. Moran and others Dublin, 1873.

⁶ Rome, 1533. It is also in the Harl. Miscell., vi., 402-28. London 1745.

Sanders' "De origine ac progressu Schismatis Anglicani"¹; P. Lombard's "De Regno Hiberniæ Commentarius"²; E. O'Duffy's edition of "The Apostasy of Myler Magrath . . . about 1577"³; J. Garvey's edition of "The Conversion of P. Corwine . . . anno 1589"⁴; R. Verstegan's "Theatrum Crudelitatum Hæreticorum nostri temporis"⁵; R. Ware's "Historical Collections of the Church in Ireland, etc., set forth in the Life and Death of George Browne"⁶; Bishop Rothe's "Analecta sacra et mira de rebus Catholicorum in Hibernia . . . gestis"⁷; A. Bruodin's "Pro-pugnaculum Catholicæ Veritatis libris x constructum"⁸; J. Hartry's "Triumphalia Chronologica Monasterii Sancti Crucis in Hibernia"⁹; P. Adair's "True Narrative of the . . . Presbyterian Church in Ireland"¹⁰; A. Theiner's "Annales Ecclesiastici (1572-85)"¹¹ and his "Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam illustrantia, 1216-1547"¹²; L. Renehan's "Collections on Irish Church History"¹³; P. F. Moran's "Spicilegium Ossoriense: being a collection of Original Letters and Papers illustrative of the History of the Irish Church"¹⁴; E. Hogan's "Ibernia Ignatiana, seu Ibernorum Societatis Jesu Patrum Monumenta collecta, etc., 1540-1607"¹⁵; and E. P. Shirley's "Original Letters and Papers . . . during the Reigns of Edward VI., Mary and Elizabeth."¹⁶

Among the older histories there are P. O'Sullivan Beare's "Historiæ Catholicæ Ibernæ Compendium"¹⁷; N. Orlandino and F. Sacchini's "Historia Societatis Jesu"¹⁸; F. Porter's "Compendium Annalium Ecclesiasticorum

¹ Cologne, 1585. There is an English translation with notes by D. Lewis, London, 1877.

² Edited by P. F. Moran. Dublin, 1868.

³ Cashel, 1864.

⁴ Dublin, 1681.

⁵ Antwerp, 1587.

⁶ London, 1681. It is also in Ware's "Antiquities," 1705, and in the Harl. Miscell., vol. v.

⁷ Two vols. Cologne, 1617-19. Edited by P. F. Moran, Dublin, 1884. Rothe was Bishop of Ossory.

⁸ Prague, 1669. It covers from Henry VIII. to James I.

⁹ Edited by D. Murphy, who translated it into English. Dublin, 1891.

¹⁰ Edited by W. D. Killen. Belfast, 1866.

¹¹ Three vols. Rome, 1856.

¹² Rome, 1864.

¹³ Vol. i., Dublin, 1861. Renehan was President of Maynooth College.

¹⁴ Vols. i. and iii. Dublin, 1874-84.

¹⁵ Vol. i. Dublin, 1880.

¹⁶ London, 1851.

¹⁷ Lisbon, 1621. Dublin, 1850.

¹⁸ Antwerp, 1620, etc. Parts i.-iii.

... Hiberniæ.”¹ Perhaps the ablest modern book on the Roman Catholic side is A. Bellesheim’s “Geschichte der katholischen Kirche in Irland”²: it is well documented. M. J. Brenan’s “Ecclesiastical History of Ireland”³ is written for edification: it is unindexed. C. P. Meehan’s “Rise and Fall of the Irish Franciscan Monasteries” is a poor book.⁴ W. M. Brady writes with all the zeal of a convert in his “Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross,”⁵ “The Irish Reformation,”⁶ “State Papers concerning the Irish Church,”⁷ and his “Episcopal Succession.”⁸ There are sidelights in P. Boyle’s “Irish College in Paris, 1578-1901.”⁹ A similar book on the Irish College in Rome is wanted. J. D’Alton compiled “Memoirs of the Archbishops of Dublin,”¹⁰ and H. C. Groves “The Titular Archbishops of Ireland.”¹¹ Cardinal P. F. Moran wrote a “History of the Catholic Archbishops of Ireland”¹²: there are documents in the appendix. O. J. Burke dealt with the “History of the Catholic Archbishops of Tuam.”¹³ G. Boero sketched the lives of two Jesuits in his “Vita del Servo di Dio P. Pascasio Broet”¹⁴ and his “Vita del Servo di Dio P. Alfonso Salmerone.”¹⁵ On Elizabethan times there is also E. Hogan’s “Life, Letters and Diary of Father Henry Fitzsimon.”¹⁶ M. O’Reilly raises the “Memorials of those who suffered for the Catholic Faith in Ireland”¹⁷; D. Murphy describes “Our Martyrs: A Record of those who suffered for the Catholic Faith under the Penal Laws in Ireland”¹⁸; and A. Zimmerman discusses “Die irischen Martyrer unter Königin Elisabeth.”¹⁹

On the Church of Ireland side there are the solid volumes of Bishop R. Mant’s “History of the Church of Ireland”²⁰ and R. King’s “Primer of the History of the Church of Ireland.”²¹ Both writers used documents, but it is a pity

¹ Rome, 1690.

² Three vols. Mainz, 1890-91. Vol. ii. deals with 1509-1690.

³ Two vols. Dublin, 1840.

⁴ Dublin, 1869.

⁵ Three vols. Dublin, 1864.

⁶ Fifth edition. London, 1687.

⁷ London, 1868.

⁸ Rome, 1876-77.

⁹ Dublin, 1901.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1838.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1897.

¹² *Ibid.*, 1864.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1882.

¹⁴ Florence, 1877.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1880.

¹⁶ Dublin, 1881.

¹⁷ London, 1868.

¹⁸ Dublin, 1896.

¹⁹ *Katholik* (1888), ii., 179-200.

²⁰ Two vols. London, 1840.

²¹ Second edition. Three vols. Dublin, 1845, 1851.

that their style is not livelier. The Rev. H. Holloway has written a useful account of "The Reformation in Ireland"¹ from the point of view of ecclesiastical legislation. Like so many others, he does not understand the working of Poynings' Law. He has not used Mr. R. Dunlop's survey of "Some Aspects of Henry VIII.'s Irish Policy."² Mr. Dunlop is one of the greatest of living authorities on the history of Ireland, but in this article he unduly minimises the effects of the legislation of Henry VIII. Perhaps it is a useful corrective to the bias shown in J. A. Froude's "History of England."³ Dr. H. J. Lawlor has written a remarkable study of "The Reformation and the Irish Episcopate."⁴ From the Presbyterian standpoint J. S. Reid describes the "History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland"⁵ and W. D. Killen "The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland."⁶ Both writers go to the sources.

THE PLANTATIONS.

Shakespeare wrote that England was "that utmost corner of the west."⁷ He was quite wrong, for the discovery of America by Columbus completely altered her position to Europe. Formerly she had been at the edge of affairs: now she was in the very heart of them. The position of Ireland was also fundamentally changed. Before 1492 she acted as a breakwater between England and the ocean, but now she lay athwart English trade lines between the New World and the Old. He who controls her harbours controls English commerce. From this point of view the discovery of America was fatal to the aspirations of the Irish. The control of Ireland was vital to England, and sixteenth-century statesmen soon perceived that this control must be effective: hence the confiscations and plantation which now begin to mark the history of Ireland. Mr. Dunlop wrote two able articles on "The Plantation of

¹ London, 1919.

² In "Historical Essays by Members of the Owens College, Manchester," pp. 279-306. London, 1902.

³ Twelve vols. London, 1899.

⁴ London, 1906 (published by the S. P. C. K.).

⁵ Edited by W. D. Killen. Three vols. Belfast, 1867.

⁶ Two vols. London, 1875.

⁷ *King John*, Act II., Scene I.

Munster, 1584-89"¹ and "The Plantation of Leix and Offaly, 1556."² In the first chapter of his thoughtful book, "Confiscation in Irish History,"³ Mr. W. F. T. Butler examines the Tudor confiscations. In his "Die englische Kolonisation in Irland"⁴ Dr. M. J. Bonn inquires into what he calls the retrogression of the English colonial interest in Ireland, and he raises the question whether a policy of colonisation is in any case possible in a country inhabited by a vigorous native population. He begins with the earliest times and comes down to the present day. He, by reading twentieth-century notions into the sixteenth, holds that instead of the English imposing Protestant civilisation on the natives, they ought to have allowed them to develop on the basis of their national characteristics. To work out this idea was foreign to the mind of all sixteenth-century statesmen. At the same time it is remarkable to note that some form of it entered the brain of Henry VIII., who tried to meet the Irish half-way. The trouble was that English civilisation was more highly developed than Irish, and this rendered it increasingly difficult for London and Dublin to see eye to eye. The Irish were unable or unwilling to conform to the new environment. Of course, the Reformation complicated the whole question, yet it is significant that in the plantation of Leix and Offaly—or indeed in any of the sixteenth-century plantations—there was no weight attached to the religion of the planter. These considerations Dr. Bonn thrusts on one side. Moreover, he is too inclined to treat an unauthorised suggestion as if it had official sanction. In her brilliant volume, "The Making of Ireland and its Undoing, 1200-1600,"⁵ Mrs. A. S. Green violently attacks the policy of the English. Dates are so mixed that it is difficult to follow the arguments advanced. The use of the term "Irishmen" is puzzling. Sometimes it means what the author calls Gaels, and sometimes it means persons of Norman or English descent. Her handling of evidence is most unfair. Here

¹ *E. H. R.*, vol. iii., pp. 250-269.

² *Ibid.*, vol. vi., pp. 61-96. Cf. *ibid.*, *E. H. R.*, vol. xx., p. 309, for his article on "Sixteenth-Century Maps of Ireland."

³ Dublin, 1917.

⁴ Two vols. Stuttgart, 1906.

⁵ London, 1908. Second edition, 1909.

an instance. She quotes the statement of Captain Cuellar on the work and housekeeping of the women of Connaught. She does not quote his statement that he invariably terms the Irish "savages," and that they live as brute beasts among the mountains." He says that the chief employment of the Irish is to rob and plunder each other. He, a shipwrecked Armada commander, was robbed, stripped naked, beaten, and forced to work. And this was one to an ally of the Irish, one who had come to fight on their behalf.

THE OLDER SOURCES.

Among these the following deserve close attention: The Annals of Ulster, 1155-1541¹; "The Annals of Hugh Cé, 1041-1590"²; "Annala Rioghachta Éireann,"³ commonly called the "Annals of Ulster"; T. Dowling's *Annales Breves Hiberniæ*⁴; Camden's inaccurate "*Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum*"⁵; Sir J. Ware's *Rerum Hibernicarum Annales regnantibus Henrico VIII. . . Elizabetha*,⁶ his inaccurate "*Historie of Ireland collected by . . . M. Hanmer, E. Campion and E. Spencer*,"⁷ and his "*Antiquities and History of Ireland*."⁸ Harris made considerable alterations in the last book.⁹

Other noteworthy volumes are J. Derricke's "*Image of Ireland*, 1578"¹⁰; T. Churchyard's "*Services of Sir William Drury . . . in 1578 and 1579*"¹¹ and his "*Scourge for Rebels*"¹²; H. Allingham's edition of "*Captain Cuellar's Adventures in Connacht and Ulster, A.D. 1588*"¹³; H. D. Sedgwick's edition of Captain Cuellar's "*Letter to Philip II., 1589*"¹⁴; R. Payne's "*Brief Description of Ireland, 1590*"¹⁵; J. Haynes' "*The Description of Ireland . . . in Anno*

¹ Vols. iii. and iv. London, 1866.

² Edited by W. M. Hennessy. Vol. ii. London, 1871.

³ Edited by J. O'Donovan. Vols. v.-vii. Dublin, 1851.

⁴ Edited by R. Butler. Irish Archæological Society, Dublin, 1849.

⁵ London, 1615. It is particularly valuable on the Elizabethan risings.

⁶ Dublin, 1664. Translation, 1704-5.

⁷ Dublin, 1633. Republished as "*Ancient Histories*." Two vols. Dublin, 1809.

⁸ Edited by R. Ware. Dublin, 1704.

⁹ Edited by W. Harris. Two vols. Dublin, 1764.

¹⁰ London, 1581. In Somers' "*Tracts*," i. London, 1809. Edited by J. Small. Edinburgh, 1883.

¹¹ London, 1580.

¹² *Ibid.*, 1584.

¹³ London, 1897. Cuellar's narrative is in C. F. Duro's "*La Armada invencible*."

¹⁴ London, 1896.

¹⁵ Edited by A. Smith. Irish Archæological Society, Dublin, 1841.

1598 ''¹; J. Dymmok's "Treatise of Ireland," c. 1600²; R. Beacon's "Solon his follie; or, a politique discourse touching the reformation of common weales, conquered, declined, or corrupted''³; H. Harrington's "Nugæ Antiquæ, being a collection of original Papers . . . written . . . by Sir J. Harrington''⁴; W. Harris's "Hibernica: or Some Ancient Pieces relating to Ireland''⁵; S. Hayman's "Unpublished Geraldine Documents''⁶; H. F. Hore and J. Graves' "Social State of the Southern and Eastern Counties of Ireland''⁷; R. Stanihurst's "De Rebus in Hibernia gestis,"⁸ and his "Description of Ireland''⁹; J. Lodge's "Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica: or a Select Collection of State Papers . . . during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth''¹⁰ (to Charles I.); A. Collins' edition of the "Letters and Memorials of State . . . written and collected by Sir Henry Sydney''¹¹; J. O'Donovan's edition of "Sir Richard Bingham's Account of Connacht and Narrative of Sir H. Docwra's Services in Ulster''¹²; Sir Thomas Stafford's "Pacata Hibernia''¹³; J. Hooker's "Life and Times of Peter Carew''¹⁴; Fynes Moryson's "Itinerary in three parts."¹⁵ The second part containeth the Rebellion of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone''¹⁶ and "Unpublished Chapters of the Itinerary''¹⁷; Sir J. Davis's "A Discoverie of the State of Ireland''¹⁸ and his "Historical Tracts''¹⁹;

¹ Edited by E. Hogan. Dublin, 1878.

² In "Tracts relating to Ireland." Irish Archæological Society, Dublin, 1842.

³ Oxford, 1594.

⁴ Three vols. London, 1779. The papers go from Henry VIII. to James I.

⁵ Dublin, 1770.

⁶ Four parts. Dublin, 1870-81.

⁷ Dublin, 1856.

⁸ Antwerp, 1584.

⁹ Holinshed's "Chronicles." Vol. ii. London, 1587.

¹⁰ Two vols. London, 1772.

¹¹ London, 1746.

¹² Miscell. Celtic Soc. Dublin, 1849.

¹³ London, 1633. Reprinted, Dublin, 1810; London, 1896.

¹⁴ Edited by J. Maclean. London, 1857.

¹⁵ London, 1617. This is of the utmost importance.

¹⁶ Dublin, 1735. Cf. Spedding's "Bacon." Vols. ii. and iii.

¹⁷ London, 1903.

¹⁸ London, 1612.

¹⁹ London, 1786. Complete works. Edited by A. Grosart. Three vols. London, 1869-76. There is a cheap edition of some of the writings of Spenser, Davis, and Fynes Moryson. H. Morley edits it under the title of "Ireland under Elizabeth and James the First." London, 1890.

Chamberlain's "Letters"¹; Sir J. T. Gilbert's "Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland,"² and his "Facsimiles," parts 3 and 4³; and Sir R. Wilbraham's "Journal."⁴ It is obvious that the bulk of these sources concern Elizabethan times. There is another one deserving of mention, and that is William Farmer's "Chronicles of Ireland from 1594 to 1613."⁵

MODERN BOOKS.

At the head of these stand the three volumes of Mr. R. Bagwell.⁶ He belonged to the small band of Irish historians of the class of A. G. Richey, W. E. H. Lecky, and C. Litton Falkiner. His long life was devoted to the investigation of the past of Ireland, and the labours of none have been more fruitful. He begins his narrative with the first Tudor and continues it to the fall of the last Stuart King at the Battle of the Boyne. That is, he covers the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries at first hand, using manuscript evidence throughout. Moreover, he is a pioneer historian, for no one had covered these centuries before him. True, party pamphlets had been compiled from the Unionist or the Nationalist point of view, but for the first time Mr. Bagwell told the truth as it might have been if the voice of pure reason were heard. We read and we re-read his six volumes with ever-increasing admiration for the impartiality displayed in them. Lord Rosebery has delicately observed that "the Irish question has never passed into history, because it has never passed out of politics." In this case the Irish question has emphatically passed out of politics, for Mr. Bagwell endeavoured, with complete success, to attain an impartial standpoint. It is a great feat to have accomplished. No one can call these six volumes colourless, but no one can call them partisan. There are some authors whose books are so eminently helpful, their sympathy so wide, their judgment so broad,

¹ Edited by S. Williams. Camden Society, London, 1861.

² Second Series, 1509-1600. London, 1860-63.

³ London, 1882.

⁴ Edited by H. S. Scott. Camden Society, London, 1902.

⁵ *E. H. R.*, January, 1907, pp. 105-130; July, 1907, pp. 528-552.

⁶ "Ireland under the Tudors." Three vols. London, 1885-90, "Ireland under the Stuarts and during the Interregnum." Three vols. London, 1912 ff.

their temper so fine, that one is lifted, as it were, into serener air. Such a man was Richard Bagwell.

Just as George Meredith is the novelists' novelist, so Mr. Bagwell is the historians' historian. They are well aware that the secret of his power lies in his sincerity, the sensitive feelings that enable him to understand the point of view of the men of the past, while his amazing and accurate acquaintance with the original materials enabled him to grasp what were the tendencies at work during the age he was investigating. The manuscript evidence, the tracts, the pamphlets at home and abroad, were thoroughly familiar to him. The fatal defect of the average Irish historian is that he sees events purely through the atmosphere of Dublin. The signal merit of Mr. Bagwell was that he saw events from a cosmopolitan aspect. He could not forget that policies not only in London, but also in Paris, Madrid, and Vienna, were shaping the course of affairs in Ireland. For wellnigh sixty years he laboured as an historian without haste and without rest. More fortunate than S. R. Gardiner, he set his heart on reaching the fall of the House of Stuart at the Battle of the Boyne, and his sixth volume reached the end he had planned in early manhood. We have mentioned Gardiner, and no one can read Mr. Bagwell's books without recalling the labours of the English historian. What Gardiner accomplished for the first half of the seventeenth century Mr. Bagwell accomplished for the whole of the sixteenth and for virtually the whole of the seventeenth.

Two-thirds of Mr. A. G. Richey's "Short History of the Irish People"¹ concerns our period, and this book is worthy to be placed alongside Mr. Bagwell's. This gifted and judicial writer possessed that power of selecting and disposing of incidents which belongs only to the front rank of historians. He knew how to show forth great events and their moving impulses by the presentation of salient characteristics suggestively related. Unlike so many Irish historians, he never allowed his narrative to be drowned in detail. The accuracy, the thoroughness, and the judicial

¹ Edited by R. R. Kane. Dublin, 1887. Cf. chapter xvii. in H. A. L. Fisher's in vol. v., and chapter xxii. in A. F. Pollard's in vol. vi. of "The Political History of England" (London, 1910).

temper displayed make us regret that Mr. Richey did not afford us more results. From large books we go to a small one, "A Review of Irish History,"¹ by Mr. J. P. Gannon. Though it covers the whole field it is so suggestive in relation to the social development of the sixteenth century that we mention it here. The comparative standpoint is never out of Mr. Gannon's mind, and the reader cannot fail to gather the connection between events in the Netherlands or in Spain and events in Dublin. It is easy to speak of the harshness of the English rule, and it was harsh. What Mr. Gannon does, with conspicuous success, is to enable us to grasp the motives of the governors and the governed alike. He perceives that behind the Tudor wars lay ecclesiastical reasons. The gold of Spain and the unwearied efforts of the Friars and the Jesuits were behind all the rebellions. The Roman Catholic Powers of Europe were fighting Elizabeth, and she naturally fought them, and, in spite of herself, was inevitably thrown into the arms of the Protestants. It is worth while emphasising what Mr. Bagwell has taught us, that the Elizabethan conquest of Ireland was cruel mainly because the Crown was poor. Just as Oliver Cromwell, had his life been prolonged, would have seen his foreign policy crash because he pursued an eighteenth-century policy on a seventeenth-century revenue, so Elizabeth saw much of her policy in Ireland, for similar reasons, undone. The Irish State Papers bear witness to the large sums she sent to Ireland, but they would have been larger had she not to contend with the treasure of France and Spain.

It sometimes happens that in a book dealing with foreign policy invaluable light is thrown on the progress of affairs in Ireland. This is notably the case with Major M. A. S. Hume's "Treason and Plot."² In spite of its title, this book is packed with ideas. The defeat of the Armada no more finally destroyed the might of Spain than did the Battle of Trafalgar annihilate French naval designs. There were several other Armadas, and that of 1596 was notable. In spite of the medal of Elizabeth, the victory of 1588 was largely due to the efforts of commanders and men. It was in 1596 that the winds blew, and the enemy were scattered.

¹ London, 1900.

² *Ibid.*, 1901.

The author thinks that "if it had not been for the providential storm which caught Adontelado's fleet off Finisterre on October 28, there would have landed early in November on one of the fine harbours on the Irish coast a Spanish force very much stronger than any army which the English could have brought against it, and in all probability Tyrone would have been victorious and Protestant England in deadly peril."

X In old books like J. Curry's "Historical and Critical Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland"¹ and in new books like P. W. Joyce's "Short History of Ireland from the Earliest Times to 1608"² we miss considerations of this nature. The latter so fixes his eye on Dublin that he cannot understand that it is at least as important to grasp the plans of Philip II. of Spain as those of Mary I. At the same time we must not forget that within the limits he marked out for himself Mr. Joyce accomplished a great deal of useful work. He was a fair-minded man, and he put forth a readable narrative. Where he is weak R. Hassencamp in his "Geschichte Irlands"³ is strong. The latter practically begins his tale with the accession of Elizabeth, and his book deserves perusal. He can note, as few Irish historians can, how the local history of Ireland merges in the general history of not only England but also of Europe and *vice versa*. Mr. G. B. O'Connor writes a valuable account of "Elizabethan Ireland, Native and English": it has John Norden's map.⁴

Mr. P. Wilson's "Beginnings of Modern Ireland"⁵ investigates the history of the sixteenth century to the accession of Elizabeth. Here and there the language is extravagant, yet this ought not to disguise the fact that the author has consulted many authorities, published and unpublished. He verifies everything, states what he finds without reserve, and states it with lucidity. It is indeed so promising a piece of work that we hope Mr. Wilson will redeem the promise in his preface, and give the world another volume. Even yet such old books as J. Mac-

¹ Dublin, 1810.

² London, 1895.

³ Leipzig, 1886. There is an English translation. London, 1882. Obviously there was an edition of "Geschichte Irlands" before that of 1886.

⁴ Dublin, 1906.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1912.

Geoghegan's "Histoire de l'Irlande"¹ and T. Leland's "History of Ireland"² deserve consultation. The day is over for general histories on this scale. There is so much to be unravelled that it is utterly out of the power of any man to be master of all the matter pouring forth in articles and monographs. Father D'Alton has courageously assayed this task, and has published a general history in six volumes.³ He has kept abreast of recent research so far as one man can cover a large field. Of course, there are lapses, but this arises from the wide extent of the ground he traverses. It is curious that it does not seem to occur to him that Irish chiefs were guilty of treason when they invoked the aid of France or Spain. For example, on April 15, 1566, Shane O'Neill writes, styling himself Defender of the Faith, to Charles IX., King of France, for 5,000 or 6,000 well-armed men, to assist in expelling the English from Ireland. On February 1, 1567, he writes to the cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, to use their influence with the French King to send an army to assist him to restore and defend the Roman Catholic faith.

One of the puzzles of the time is why the Irish did not sweep out the English. The latter paid "black rent" to the former. Why were the English not driven out? The reasons seem to be these. The Pale came to mean the four counties of Louth, Meath, Dublin, and Kildare. The chieftains were so desirous of attacking one another that they were unable to combine. Each cared for his own particular part of the country, but none, not even Tyrone, cared for the whole country. The weak government extended protection to tribes which sought it. It was the aim of Henry VIII. to permit and expand this system. This legalisation of the tribal chief persisted throughout the sixteenth century, and explains some enigmas. Everything is local, and everything is tribal. We are almost back to the days of the Táin Bó Cúalnge, when the usual oath took the form of "I swear by the god my tribe swears by."

¹ Three vols. Paris, 1758-62.

² *Ibid.*, London, 1773.

³ Dublin, 1910.

BIOGRAPHIES.

There are none in the first rank, though there are some useful books among the following: W. B. Devereux, "Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex, in the Reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., 1540–1646"¹; A. Capel, "The Earl of Essex"²; G. Hill, "An Historical Account of the Macdonnells of Antrim, including Notices of some other Leinster Septs"³; E. Hogan, "Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth Century"⁴; J. Hooker, "The Life and Times of Sir Peter Carew"⁵; D. MacCarthy, "The Life and Letters of Florence MacCarthy Reagh, Tanist of Carbury"⁶; T. M. Madden, "The Maddens of Hy-Many"⁷; C. P. Meehan, "The Fates and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell"⁸; J. Mitchel, "The Life and Times of Hugh O'Neill, with some account of Con, Shane, and Tirlough"⁹; L. O'Clery, "The Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell"¹⁰; D. O'Daly, "Initium, incrementa, et exitus Familiæ Geraldinorum Desmonix Comitum Palatinorum Kyerria in Hybernia, ac persecutionis hæreticorum descriptio"¹¹; J. O'Donoghue, "Historical Memoirs of the O'Briens"¹²; P. L. O'Toole, "The History of the Clan O'Toole"¹³; R. Rawlinson, "The History of . . . Sir John Perrott"¹⁴; E. C. S. (? Sir E. Cecil), "The Government of Ireland under Sir John Perrott, 1585–88"¹⁵; R. Sainthill, "The Old Countess of Desmond"¹⁶; T. Strype, "The Life of Sir Thomas Smith"¹⁷; and J. H. Wiffen, "Historical Memoirs of the House of Russell."¹⁸ In the light of new

¹ Vol. i. London, 1883.

² Dublin, 1770.

³ Belfast, 1873.

⁴ First Series. London, 1894.

⁵ Edited by J. Maclean. London, 1857.

⁶ London, 1867.

⁷ Dublin, 1894.

⁸ Second edition. Dublin, 1870. It is a very rhetorical book. It is indexed, and there are documents in the appendix. The bibliography in Mr. Dunlop's fine article on Tyrone in the *D. N. B.* reveals the information in the British Museum and in the Reports of the Hist. MSS. Com.

⁹ Dublin, 1846.

¹⁰ Edited by D. Murphy, and translated by E. O'Reilly. Dublin, 1893. The original MS. is in the R.I.A. There is a copy of the translation in the British Museum, Egerton MS. 123.

¹¹ Lisbon, 1655. Translation with Memoir and Notes by C. P. Meehan. Dublin, 1847.

¹² Dublin, 1860.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1900.

¹⁴ London, 1728.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1626.

¹⁶ Dublin, 1861.

¹⁷ London, 1698.

¹⁸ Vol. ii. London, 1833.

documents there is need of fresh biographies of Essex, Mountjoy, and Tyrone. With Essex it is necessary to remember that Ireland was in a most critical condition, and that all Europe was aware of this. The country would have been a province of Spain had it not been for the determination of Tyrone not to attack till the troops of Philip II. had arrived. With Mountjoy in command the situation so altered that in 1600 Tyrone contemplated seeking safety in flight, an intention put into effect seven years later. No biographer has brought out with sufficient emphasis the fact that the aims of Tyrone were tribal, not national. He never dreamt of attaining supremacy over all Ireland.

FAMILY HISTORIES.

These are valuable on account of the letters and papers they sometimes contain. Among them are the Earl of Belmore, "The History of Two Ulster Manors"¹; M. J. Blake's fine volume on "Blake Family Records"²; the Duke of Leinster, "The Earls of Kildare"³; the O'Connor Don (C. O.), "The O'Conors of Connaught"⁴; J. C. O'Meagher, "Some Historical Notices of the O'Meaghers of Kerrin"⁵; and Viscount Powerscourt, "Muniments of the Ancient Family of Wingfield."⁶ We add remarks on two of them. Mr. Blake adds considerably to our understanding of the social changes in the west of Ireland from 1300 to 1600. The Blake family has been long and honourably connected with Galway, and though the history of this town is well known through the excellent history of J. Hardiman,⁷ yet Mr. Blake illuminates the whole period. The volume of the O'Connor Don is somewhat too genealogical for the average reader. Still, it enables us to watch the slowness of the Tudor conquest in reaching the O'Conors in the sixteenth century. It had overtaken the O'Conors of Offaly, the O'Moores of Leix, and the princely house of

¹ Dublin, 1881; London, 1903. The Manors are Finagh (co. Tyrone), and Coole (co. Fermanagh).

² First Series. London, 1902. The index to this series is in the second series.

³ Second edition. Dublin, 1858. The addenda of this edition are present in the third edition. Dublin, 1858.

⁴ Dublin, 1891.

⁵ London, 1886.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1894.

⁷ "History of the Town and County of Galway." Dublin, 1820.

Desmond. The turn of the west came. Hugh O'Conor eagerly accepted a knighthood from Sir John Perrot and a confirmation of his claims to his immense domains. But in the end he too went under before the increasing authority of the Tudor.

Among the officials there are such illustrious names as Sir Walter Raleigh and Edmund Spenser. Sir John Hennessy wrote an interesting volume on "Sir Walter Raleigh in Ireland,"¹ and in it he gives letters of Raleigh bearing on Irish affairs. With inimitable charm Dean R. W. Church sketched the life and work of Spenser, and in his fourth chapter he discusses the career of Spenser in Ireland.² It is an unsatisfactory chapter largely because the writer was not familiar with the trend of events in Ireland, and he did not discern their influence on the composition of the "Faerie Queene." This was done by C. Litton Falkiner in a delightful essay on "Spenser in Ireland."³ This essay is at least as valuable to the student of literature as to the student of history. The reference to literature suggests education. The Rev. T. Corcoran edits "State Policy in Irish Education, A.D. 1536 to 1616, exemplified in Documents selected for Lectures to Post-Graduate Classes."⁴ Some of these documents are in Blue Books and publications of the Record Office, and one-quarter of them have never appeared in print. Books like these will render it possible, some day, to write a history of Irish thought. In her "Making of Ireland" Mrs. Green has essayed this task and met with conspicuous success. The Right Hon. D. H. Madden in his "Classical Learning in Ireland"⁵ has furnished an inspiring sketch.

¹ London, 1883.

² R. W. Church, "Spenser." London, 1894.

³ "Essays Relating to Ireland," pp. 3-31.

⁴ Dublin, 1916.

⁵ London, 1908.

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AND J. P. WHITNEY, D.D., D.C.L.

IRELAND, 1603 - 1714

BY THE REV.

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H. BLAKE SCHOLAR IN HISTORY, TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

AUTHOR OF "REVOLUTIONARY IRELAND AND ITS SETTLEMENT, 1688-1714"

"ERASMUS AND LUTHER: THEIR ATTITUDE TO TOLERATION"

EDITOR OF "THE JOURNAL OF JOHN STEVEN"

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PREFACE

MR. R. DUNLOP has compiled two fine bibliographies on the period practically covered in this book. They are to be found in Vol. IV. of the "Cambridge Modern History," pp. 913-918, and Vol. V., pp. 829-837. For some of the matters discussed I may be permitted to refer to my "Public Record Office, Dublin," and my "Some Documents in Trinity College, Dublin."

ROBERT H. MURRAY.

11, HARCOURT TERRACE,
DUBLIN.

IRELAND, 1603-1714

THE leading features of the Ireland of the seventeenth century are the decline in the power of Parliament, the Ulster Plantation, the 1641 Rebellion, the Restoration Settlement, and the Penal Laws.

THE IRISH PARLIAMENT, 1603-1714.

One outstanding feature is the rare meeting of Parliament down to the year 1692. It met in 1613, 1634, 1639, and 1661. There was one intermission from 1586 to 1613, another from 1615 to 1634, another from 1648 to 1661, and another from 1666 to 1692. The official account takes no notice of the "Patriot Parliament" of James II., but its doings have been chronicled by Thomas Davis.¹ It is clear from the Journals of the House of Commons and from the Council Books of such towns as Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale² that down to the Restoration there was no great desire manifested to sit as members of Parliament. This is proved by the fact that the Sheriff for Louth

¹ London, 1893, ed. Sir C. Gavan Duffy. Cf. T. D. Ingram, "Two Chapters of Irish History," London, 1888.

² Cf. R. Caulfield, Council Books of the Corporation of Cork (1876), of Youghal (1878), and of Kinsale (1879). All published at Guildford.

ignored in 1639 one of the boroughs in his county,¹ that in 1640 the Lord Chancellor was indifferent in issuing writs for by-elections,² and that in 1641 many boroughs failed to elect members.³ It ought to be remembered that in 1613 the knights of the shire, the citizens, and the burgesses received their wages,⁴ and at Cork wages were paid as late as 1641.⁵ Indeed it was not till the resolution of 1666 that the general end of the payment of wages came.⁶ The number of the members in the House of Commons in 1692 was three hundred. From this date the demand for seats was more ardent than even after 1660.

James I. was anxious that in his first Parliament, 1613, there should be representatives of the Irish race, but for fear they might outvote his policy he increased the number of members by creating boroughs in Ulster. Up to this time there were forty-four boroughs, but James I. enfranchised forty-six more, and granted to Trinity College, Dublin, the privilege of returning members. Charles I. created one borough⁷ and Charles II. fifteen. In 1692 there were 117 cities or corporate boroughs returning two members each, and there were also sixty-four knights of the shire and two burgesses from Trinity College.

Local records render it plain that it was the intention of the Government to leave the towns

¹ H. of C. Journals, i. 137. ² *Ibid.*, i. 163. ³ *Ibid.*, i. 241.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 21. ⁵ R. Caulfield, Council Book of Cork, 202.

⁶ H. of C. Journals, i., pt. 2, 772.

⁷ Irish Municipal Commission, 1835, 1st Rep., 10, 11.

enfranchised under the control of the landed proprietors. In the election of burgesses at Clonsilla, for instance, the corporation was ordered to take the advice of the lord of the town.¹ At Blessington the elections, by the term of the charter, were to be held in the hall of Blessington House.² Charles II. incorporated Castlemartyr in the interest of the first Earl of Orrery.³ Of course in England it was common to meet with boroughs enfranchised at the request of the gentry of the district, but these boroughs were not permanently under the local magnates. In England there really was a town to be enfranchised, whereas in Ireland charters were bestowed with a view to establishing a town which never actually came into being. The site of Bannow was a heap of sand.⁴ At Harristown there was no house, and at Clonmines only one.⁵

In the Parliament of 1613 there were 232 members, of whom 101 were Roman Catholic. This is the first Parliament which contained a general representation of the whole country. In the Parliament there were almost as many Roman Catholics as Protestants. There was no reason why they should not vote for members and become members to the days of the Revolution, for there were no oaths which uniformly excluded them.⁶

¹ Irish Municipal Commission, 1st Rep., pt. 1, App. 21.

² Sir J. Newport, "State of Borough Representation in Ireland from 1783 to 1800," 28.

³ "An Account of the Life, Character, and Parliamentary Conduct of the Rt. Hon. Henry Boyle, Esq.," 12.

⁴ Irish Municipal Commission, 1835, 1st Rep., App. pt. 1, 448.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1st Rep., App. pt. 1, 492.

⁶ Mountmorres, "Ancient Parliaments of Ireland," i. 157.

The 2nd of Elizabeth, c. 1, simply enacted an oath of allegiance to the Crown and a disavowal of any foreign authority, and was taken by members. Many of them took this oath in the Parliament of 1639-48,¹ and it was proposed in 1642 to make it compulsory.² The Parliament of 1661 did not think it necessary to administer this oath. The proposal to make it obligatory failed in 1663 and 1677.³ The Revolution altered the whole matter, for in 1692 it was required that persons elected to the House of Commons must take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy under regulations similar to those enforced in England.⁴ It was not till 1829 that this disqualification was removed.

The boroughs passed completely under the control of the aristocracy to 1800, when £1,260,000 was paid as compensation to the owners of eighty-four boroughs. In 1783, according to Plowden,⁵ there were six freeman boroughs, and these were Carrickfergus, Cork, Drogheda, Dublin, Londonderry, and Waterford. In his illuminating survey Mr. Porritt⁶ reckons that there were ninety-three boroughs under the control of patron-managed

¹ H. of C. Journals, i. 602.

² *Ibid.* i. 297.

³ Mountmorres, *op. cit.*, i. 159, 160.

⁴ 3 Will. and Mary, c. 2: "English Statutes." Cf. H. of C. Journals, ii. 9; J. W. Brown, "An Historical Account of the Laws created against the Catholics both in England and Ireland," 157. Cf. also C. Butler, "Historical Account of the Laws respecting Roman Catholics and of the Laws passed for their Relief" (London, 1795), and his "Historical Memoirs of the English, Irish, and Scotch Catholics since the Reformation" (3 vols. London, 1819-21); and W. J. Amherst, "History of Catholic Emancipation" (2 vols. London, 1886).

⁵ "An Historical Review of the State of Ireland," iv., App. 53.

⁶ "The Unreformed House of Commons," ii. 299.

corporations. Of these fifty-three were under the control of their charter, and forty, originally free, by usurpation. In 1781 Parliament regarded borough representation as property. By the 21 and 22 Geo. III., c. 24, Roman Catholics were enabled to purchase freehold land, but could not purchase advowsons and manors or boroughs returning members of Parliament. From 1768 to 1800 the number of members who purchased their seats was from fifty to sixty.¹ The chief borough owners were such powerful families as the Beresfords, the Downshires, the Ponsonbys, and the Shannons. In 1800 Lord Downshire directly controlled seven seats; Lord Ely six; the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Abercorn, Lord Belmore, Lord Clifden, Lord Granard, and Lord Shannon, four seats. Indirectly they controlled far more. The Beresfords, the Downshires, and the Ponsonbys controlled over twenty-two seats. The price of their support was patronage bestowed upon their followers. "Most Irish gentlemen," confessed Buckinghamshire in 1779, "enter my closet with a P in their mouths—Place, Pension, Peerage, or Privy Council." The statement is as true of 1679 as of 1779.

The effectiveness with which the county families manipulated the boroughs was rendered all the easier by the narrowing of the franchise, largely due to local influence, not to the influence of the House of Commons. All the conditions of national

¹ Castlereagh Correspondence, ii. 151; Addit. MSS. 34523, 277 (Brit. Mus.).

life—the political, religious, economic, and social conditions—favoured the exercise of power by the patron. What were called towns were no more than hamlets, and some of them existed only on paper. The Protestants were in a minority on the list of inhabitants, but were in a majority on the voting list. In time the non-resident members of the corporation came to outnumber the resident members. There was one striking difference between municipal life in England and Scotland and municipal life in Ireland. Though men sought in the other two countries to enter Parliamentary life they attended to some of their municipal duties, whereas in Ireland they grossly neglected them, especially after 1660 and 1688. It is clear from the Irish charters that the sole purpose which they contemplated was the return of members to the House of Commons. The New Rules of 1672 constituted the municipal code of the country, and by that code there must be a sovereign or mayor chosen according to law simply because such an official was required for the furtherance of a Parliamentary election. Killibegs, for example, “never exercised any function save that of the assembling annually of a few members to maintain its existence, and to return to the House of Commons the nominees of the patron.”¹ As there was no civic life, there was no constitutional life or spirit.

When the Municipal Commissioners of 1833-35

¹ Irish Municipal Commission, 1835, 1st Rep., App. pt. 1, 1100.

investigated matters they found forty-six corporations which resembled English freeman boroughs. These were such old towns as Athlone, Carrickfergus, Cork, Drogheda, Dublin, Galway, Kilkenny, Limerick, Waterford, and Wexford—towns enfranchised before 1603—and towns such as Banagher, Bandon, Kinsale, Philipstown, and Youghal. In the opinion of Gale, the freeholders were the oldest voters known to the law:¹ they enjoyed the franchise along with the freemen. With the exception of the Quakers² and the Roman Catholics, there was little restriction of the granting of the freedom. Before 1688 birth, marriage, or servitude sufficed for admission to the freedom. In the days of James I. a barber at Youghal became free “on condition that he shall trim every freeman of the town at the rate of sixpence a year.”³ Another stranger won his freedom on condition that “he would glaze the windows of the thosel [*i.e.*, the town hall].”⁴ A cook was admitted if he dressed a dinner for the mayor and aldermen each year.⁵

The policy of the Viceroy, Essex, from 1672 to 1677, during his first administration, requires investigation. Though he aimed at the maintenance of the Protestant interest, he was determined not to persecute the Roman Catholics. He did not, however, care to admit the latter to the magistracy, except in special cases where the King should

¹ P. Gale, “An Enquiry into the Ancient Corporation System of Ireland” (London, 1834), 39.

² R. Caulfield, Council Book of Youghal, 317.

³ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 86.

exercise his power of dispensing with the oath of supremacy. "I do verily believe," he says, "that if Romanists be admitted to the magistracy in corporations, it will upon the whole be a hindrance to trade here; for I am confident . . . that if this should once be allowed, many wealthy trading Protestants would upon that score withdraw themselves and their stocks."¹ At the same time he refused to carry out the order for the disarming of the Roman Catholics.² As he was pursuing his policy of moderation he was afraid he might lose the support of the King, and he had to fight against the intolerance of the English House of Commons and against that of the Ulster Nonconformists. The Presbyterians had increased rapidly in numbers since the days of Strafford, and in 1679 Essex reckoned them at 60,000 or 100,000 fighting men. They were all the more formidable because of their close connection with the Scots.

Essex devised a comprehensive law applicable to all municipalities, and these New Rules he promulgated in 1672. By them the names of the chief magistrates, recorders, sheriffs, and town clerks were to be presented to the Lord-Lieutenant and the Privy Council, for their approval. If they disapproved, within ten days the corporation was obliged to declare a new election. No one could

¹ The Essex Papers, vol. i., edited for the Camden Society by O. Airy (1890), p. 19.

² *Ibid.*, p. 124. Cf. also Essex's Letters (London, 1770; Dublin, 1773). There are 22 vols. of Essex's Correspondence in the British Museum.

hold office in a corporation till he had taken the oath of supremacy as established by the Act of 2 Elizabeth and the oath of allegiance. The most important of the six New Rules was that establishing easy and uniform conditions of admission to the freedom of corporations. Practically men were admitted to them at their request on payment of twenty shillings as a fine and on taking the oath of allegiance.¹ Essex insisted that Roman Catholics should be allowed to become freemen equally with Protestants.² The oath of supremacy excluded the Roman Catholics from municipal office but not from freedom of the town. In spite of the 4 Will. and Mary, c. 11, the New Rules allowed them, in the larger towns at least, admission to the freedom of the town and certainly to freedom of trade. Municipal life, before seats began to be in demand, was vigorous in the first half, though not in the second, of the seventeenth century.³

Just as Roman Catholics used to be members of the House, so, too, were Dissenters. In the 1692 Parliament there were ten Presbyterians, and in that of 1703 there were ten. Besides, they exercised a great share in municipal activity. In 1704 was wrought a complete change in their status by requiring all officials to partake of Holy Communion according to the custom of the Church of

¹ Irish Statutes, iii. 235-9.

² Essex Papers (ed. O. Airy), 186.

³ Irish Municipal Commission, 1835, 1st Rep., App. pt. 1, 71, 732

Ireland. For the next seventy-five years Dissenters were excluded from the hundred municipal councils, though they could still be freemen. Curiously enough, the sacramental test did not apply to members of Parliament, and in the 1713-14 Parliament there were four Dissenters, and in that of 1716 there were six.

Corporations and patrons controlled the boroughs and the freemen, except the potwalloper boroughs, of which there were eleven, and the manor boroughs, of which there were seven. In the potwalloper boroughs every Protestant householder voted, and in the manor boroughs only freeholders voted. The potwalloper boroughs were Antrim, Baltimore, Downpatrick, Knocktopher, Lisburn, Lismore, Newry, Randalstown, Rathcormac, Swords, and Tallaght. Downpatrick, Knocktopher, and Swords owed their wide Parliamentary franchises to the Act of 1542.¹ James I. created the potwalloper boroughs of Baltimore, Lismore, Newry, and Tallaght; while Charles II. created those of Antrim, Randalstown, and Rathcormac. The great Earl of Cork procured the charter of Lismore in 1613, and the last to be granted was that of Randalstown (1683). The popular character of manor boroughs was due to sheer accident, for the corporations contemplated in the respective charters never came into existence, and therefore the freeholders voted as they pleased. Still, as no manor borough had more than thirty voters, the task of the patron

¹ 33 Henry VIII., c. 1.

in controlling them was not difficult. There were not the English traditions of constitutionalism to guide the sheriffs, and the elections took place at infrequent intervals. The sheriffs became partisan. In 1709 the House reprimanded the Sheriff of Kerry because he settled the qualifications of a candidate.¹ The Sheriff of Galway at the same election arrested voters who supported candidates to whom he was opposed.² At Carlow the sovereign of the town, who was the returning officer, stood as a candidate.³ The Sheriff of Cavan used his position in order to lend his aid to one of the candidates.⁴

Privilege exists from the reign of Edward IV., for the 3 Edw. IV., c. 1, was modelled upon the law of the English Parliament. In 1614 this Act was interpreted to "extend to all the members of this House, their servants, goods, and possessions for forty days before the beginning of every Parliament and for forty days after the end . . . of the same."⁵ In 1646-47 this interpretation was widened to prevent the billeting of soldiers on members.⁶ In 1695 there is a trace of the *droit administratif*, for members were obliged to obtain permission of the House to plead in the law courts when suits were brought against them.⁷ In 1707 the extensions of privilege were curtailed.

The House of Commons looked with jealous eyes on the unauthorised printing of its proceedings.

¹ H. of C. Journals, ii. 617.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 648.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. 775.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iii. 27.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 26.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i. 353, 359, 363.

⁷ *Ibid.*, ii. 141.

In 1662 Dancer, a Dublin bookseller, was taken into custody by the sergeant-at-arms for printing the Speaker's speech. As Samuel Johnson took care that the Whig dogs should not, in his reports of the speeches delivered, have the best of it, there was similar misrepresentation in Dublin. The outcome was the delay of this liberty. In 1690 Joseph Ray, of College Street, Dublin, issued the newspaper the *Dublin Intelligence*. In 1700 there followed *Pue's Occurrences*, and in 1728 *Falkiner's Journal*.

Irish history is not marked by struggles between the House of Commons and the House of Lords. The latter might reject a money Bill, but it might not originate it. The Upper House was indeed a small and feeble body. In the reign of Charles II. there were 137 members, composed of 33 earls, 49 viscounts, 4 archbishops, 18 bishops, and 33 barons. The Revolution of 1688 reduced this scanty number, and from 1692 their unimportance, with signal individual exceptions, equalled their scantiness. In 1615, not in 1715, the Lords complained that the Commons exhibited undue legislative zeal. Unlike the sixteenth century House of Commons, the Parliament in 1634-35,¹ in 1641,² and in 1662³ pressed for larger powers than those allowed them by Poynings' Law. It felt that it was in the plight of M. Noirtier de Villefort in "Monte Cristo," who was completely paralysed

¹ H. of C. Journals, i. 128.

² *Ibid.*, i. 167.

³ *Ibid.*, i., pt. 2, 566, 617.

except for one eye. Like him the Parliament possessed a single faculty, that of saying "Yes" or "No."

Francis Echlin was about to marry a Roman Catholic, and his eldest son petitioned the House of Commons in 1692 for a Parliamentary settlement of the estates already settled upon him. To this petition the House assented, and passed a resolution declaring "that the House doth agree with the said committee that the several heads in the report mentioned shall be heads of a Bill to be presented and transmitted to England."¹ This important precedent influenced legislation deeply, for from 1703 to 1713 Bills originated as frequently with Parliament as with the administration.² Down to 1782 there were two classes of Bills—Government Bills and those which had not originated with the Government. The stages in the first class were the same as those of a measure passed at Westminster. The stages of the second were quite different, and the chief difference was that the heads of the Bill were sent to the Lord-Lieutenant, not to the House of Lords, and then they were transmitted by the Privy Council in Dublin to the Privy Council in London.

A GENERAL SURVEY.

Throughout the century there are the three invaluable volumes of Mr. Bagwell. S. R. Gardiner,

¹ *Ibid.*, ii. 22, 23, 26.

² *Cf.* the writer's "Revolutionary Ireland and its Settlement," 333-42.

in his massive "History of England, 1603-56,"¹ bestows much attention on Irish affairs, which he discusses with unfailing knowledge and unfailing insight. Mr. C. H. Firth carried on Gardiner's work in two volumes, which continue, in the admirable spirit of Gardiner, the narrative to 1658.² It is difficult to praise Gardiner's work as it ought to be praised because, when strong commendation is bestowed, it is apt to provoke a reaction in the mind of the reader. Certainly he and Mr. Bagwell were masters of the seventeenth century. Major G. B. O'Connor has written a clear account of "Stuart Ireland, Catholic and Puritan."³ There is no more attractive figure than the great Duke of Ormonde. From Strafford to Tyrconnel he counts as one of the most outstanding men in the country. He attracted Carlyle in spite of his panegyric of Cromwell, and he attracted Lord Morley. T. Carte wrote his Life,⁴ and the royalist predilections of the author are plain in all he writes. In his desire to apologise for the gentry of the Pale, Carte goes too far when he regards them as the victims of a Puritan plot. The letters in the appendix are valuable, and they draw our attention to the 109 volumes in the Bodleian.⁵ Sir J. T. Gilbert⁶ edited two volumes of the

¹ London, 1895-1903. 18 vols. ² *Ibid.*, 1909. ³ Dublin, 1910.

⁴ "History of the Life of James, Duke of Ormonde, 1610-88" (6 vols. Oxford, 1851). Cf. "A Collection of Original Letters and Papers, 1641-60" (2 vols. London, 1739).

⁵ Cf. the Report of C. W. Russell and J. T. Prendergast in the 32nd Report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records, App. I. London, 1871.

⁶ Old Series, 2 vols. Hist. MSS. Comm. London, 1895.

Ormonde Manuscripts, and Mr. C. Litton Falkiner and Mr. F. Elrington Ball¹ edited seven volumes. Lady Burghclere has written a careful "Life of Ormonde."²

J. A. Froude writes on "The English in the Eighteenth Century,"³ but he devotes the larger part of his first volume to the seventeenth. In spite of his bias, his book is valuable because he consulted the original sources. W. E. H. Lecky wrote his "History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century,"⁴ largely as a reply to Froude. Lecky is very much to be reckoned with when we come to the year 1780, but before that time his book possesses no independent value, as he had not read the documents—*e.g.*, the Depositions of the 1641 rising. Much of his first volume concerns the seventeenth century. Throughout this century L. von Ranke's six volumes deserve careful attention: he gave particular care to the Williamite period.⁵ We know no more valuable book for the study of the Irish Revolution of 1688, in its wider aspects, than O. Klopp's "Der Fall des Hauses Stuart": it is a mine of information and of ideas.⁶ My "Revolutionary Ireland and its Settlement (1688-1714)"⁷ is not so much a history of Ireland as an attempt to weigh the effects of the policy of Louis XIV. on the destinies of the country. Lord

¹ New Series, 7 vols. Hist. MSS. Comm. London, 1902-12.

² London, 1912. 2 vols.

³ *Ibid.*, 1906. 3 vols

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1896. 5 vols.

⁵ "History of England principally in the Seventeenth Century" (Oxford, 1875).

⁶ Vienna, 1875-88. 14 vols.

⁷ London, 1911.

Macaulay's volumes¹ are too well known to require that commendation they undoubtedly deserve. The more I work, the more I am impressed by the amazing acquaintance Macaulay possessed with the manuscripts and the pamphlets of his period. In "Two Centuries of Irish History, 1691-1870,"² W. K. Sullivan presents an able sketch of Irish history from 1691 to 1782. In his illuminating "Illustrations of Irish History and Topography," C. Litton Falkiner explores delightfully many of the lesser known aspects of the seventeenth century.³

ORIGINAL SOURCES.

The Record Office, London, possesses an ample store in the Letters and Papers, 1603-1714, 129 vols.; the Irish Letter Books, 1627-1714, 16 vols.; with an index to the Letter Books, 1643-1714, 2 vols.; Warrants by the Lords Justices and Council, 1641-November, 1642, 1 vol.; Entry Books, 1647-48, 1 vol.; Notes relating to Ireland (Sir J. Williamson's Collection) and Genealogical Notes (the same collection), 2 vols.; an Undated Alphabetical Index relating to Ireland, 1 vol.; an Account of Money received and paid for Public Use in Ireland, 1649-56, 1 vol.; Adventurers for Lands in Ireland, 1642-59, with an Index, 17 vols.; the Secretary's Letter Book, 1661-1714, 10 vols.; an Entry Book of Proclamations, 1661-75, 1 vol.; a Register of Military and Civil Estab-

¹ "History of England" (8 vols. London), 1858-62.

² London, 1888.

³ *Ibid.*, 1904.

lishments in Ireland, 1700-20, 1 vol.; Ecclesiastical Regulations, 1711-13, 3 vols.; Revenue Accounts, 1707, 1 vol.; and Warrants, 1713-14, 1 vol.¹

The Record Office, Dublin, possesses the fifty-six volumes dealing with the official correspondence of the Government of Ireland under the Commonwealth.² Mr. R. Dunlop printed the most noteworthy, and prefaced his book by a powerful survey of Irish history from 1541 to 1659.³ The Depositions concerning the loss of life and property during the Rebellion of 1641 are preserved in Trinity College, Dublin. There are miscellaneous documents, giving the original correspondence of Henry Cromwell, the Minutes of the Committee for Irish Affairs, etc., in the British Museum, among the Lansdowne,⁴ the Harleian,⁵ the Sloane,⁶ the Egerton,⁷ and the Additional MSS.⁸ The Record Office, Dublin, possesses a series of folio volumes, giving original documents and transcripts from 1660 to 1674.⁹ It also contains the proceedings of the Court of Claims,¹⁰ thirty-five volumes, and the

¹ Down to 1670 these are described in considerable detail in the official "Calendars of State Papers relating to Ireland." From 1670 onwards they are included in the "Calendar of State Papers—Domestic."

² See my "Public Record Office, Dublin," pp. 21-24, 46.

³ "Ireland under the Commonwealth" (Manchester, 1913. 2 vols.).

⁴ MSS. 692, 821-23.

⁵ MSS. 2048, 2138, 5999.

⁶ MSS. 3838, 4763, 4769, 4771-72, 4782, 4798, 4819, 5014.

⁷ MS. 1048.

⁸ MSS. 8883, 19845, 21135, 24860, 25277, 25287, 32093.

⁹ 15th Annual Report of the Record Commissioners, 1825; Deputy-Keeper's Report, xix., App. V.

¹⁰ The Supplement to the Eighth Report of the Record Commissioners, 1819, pp. 248-300.

books of Survey and Distribution. On the last two matters there are some volumes in Trinity College, Dublin.

AUTHORITIES ON THE JACOBITE WAR.

In the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, there are seven folio volumes of much importance. These volumes begin with a proclamation of 1671, and a list of goods sold by Arthur Gore on June 19, 1676, and proceed to give a letter of Tyrconnel, December 18, 1689, which informs us that the Derry people "continue obstinate in their rebellion." They come down to February, 1692, when they cease. Among them are original letters from James to Hamilton, while the latter was engaged in the siege of the maiden city. In Trinity College, Dublin, is preserved the correspondence of George Clarke, Secretary-at-War (1690-92). Clarke's thirteen volumes are larger than the seven of the R.I.A., and they deal with operations all over Ireland. This secretary preserved all letters sent to him, and from them an intelligible account of the Williamite side of the war can be obtained. From the Jacobite standpoint they can be supplemented by the important material in the Archives des Affaires Étrangères. The British Foreign Office privately printed thirty copies of "*Négociations de M. le Comte d'Avaux en Irlande, 1689-90*," and it is an invaluable book of over 750 pages, throwing much light on the plans of Louis XIV. Of course the d'Avaux is based on MSS. in Paris.

Much trouble is caused to the student by the fact that these supplementary papers are in Dublin and Paris respectively, for they afford valuable insight into the minds of the French generals and into the mind of the French King.

The Bodleian Library contains the Nairne Papers (1689-1701); some of these have been printed by J. Macpherson in his "Original Papers." The papers of Sir Robert and Edward Southwell, principal Secretaries of State in Ireland, are now divided between the British Museum, Trinity College, Dublin, and the Public Record Office of the same city. These papers, however, are more valuable for the rest of William's reign than for the early period. Dr. T. K. Abbott's "Catalogue of the MSS. in T.C.D." gives particulars of such sources as I.6.9, three volumes, E.2.19, F.4.3, and K.4.10. In the Public Record Office, Dublin, the letters written in 1690 to Edward Southwell from Cork, Kinsale, and other towns (125/1), and those written in 1690 and in 1690-93 to Edward and Robert relating to French prisoners and French privateers and other matters (125/3, 132, 138, 141/5, 142), deserve attention. As yet all these sources are unpublished.

Among the published authorities J. S. Clarke's "Life of James II." ranks as a primary authority. James, like his cousin Louis XIV., spent time in compiling an account of his life. Before he sent his wife and child with Lauzun to a place of safety in 1688 he secured his Memoirs, which he had kept

most carefully. James enclosed them in a box which he entrusted to Terresi, the Tuscan envoy. While the exile was living at Saint-Germain he added notes upon later events. During the French Revolution the MS. of the Memoirs was burnt. Tradition relates that it was brought to Saint-Omer with the intention of depositing it securely in England, but as it bore the arms of France and England fear of the revolutionary Government caused its destruction. Though the Memoirs thus perished, yet a biography based upon them remained in existence. King James's son gave orders for a Life of his father soon after 1701. Ranke does not think that evidence exists to warrant the assumption that Innes, Principal of the Scots College, had the largest share in the composition, though James confided his Memoirs and papers to Innes a few months before his death.

The Chevalier de Saint-George read the Life, underlined passages in it, and bequeathed it to his family. In 1707 he sent for that part of the Memoirs which referred to the year 1678. After the death of the Duchess of Albany, the wife of Charles Edward, the Life passed into the hands of the Benedictines at Rome, and was purchased by the British Government. The Napoleonic wars placed obstacles in the way of its safe transmission. It came to Leghorn, then to Tunis, then to Malta, and at last, in 1810, to England. The Prince Regent, who had a regard for the Stuarts, requested his chaplain and librarian, J. Stanier Clarke, to

edit it, and in 1816 two handsome volumes were issued.

The Life is in four parts. The first, which is unimportant, goes down to the Restoration in 1660; the second, which is most valuable, to the accession of James II.; the third to his flight from England at the end of 1688; and the fourth embraces the rest of his life. Ranke¹ analyses the worth of the four parts with his usual acuteness. It is clear that the original was written in a fragmentary fashion—the most detailed portions by James, others compiled by his secretaries. Ranke did not use the Caryll Papers, which show that John Caryll, secretary to James's wife, Mary Beatrice, was working at the Life. Its originals are preserved at Windsor, with the other Stuart Papers.² At Welbeck there is a MS. (folio) which successively belonged to Henri Oswald de la Tour d'Auvergne, Archbishop of Vienna, Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex, Sir Thomas Phillips, and the Duke of Portland. The title of this MS. is "Memoires de Jacques Second, Roy de la Grande Bretagne, etc. De glorieuse Memoire. Contenant l'histoire des quatre Campagnes que sa Majesté fit, estant Duc de York, sous Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne, Vicomte de Turenne, dans les Années, 1652, 1653, 1654 et 1655. . . . Traduits

¹ "History of England," vi. 29-45.

² Campana di Cavelli, *Quarterly Review*, December, 1846; *Gentleman's Magazine*, No. 2, New Series, February 1, 1866, by M. Woodward. The Stuart papers are being calendared by the Historical MSS. Commission.

sur l'Original Anglois écrit de la propre main de sa dite Majesté, conservé par son ordre dans les Archives du Collège des Ecossois à Paris. Le tout certifié et attesté par la Reyne Mère et Regente de la Grande Bretagne, etc., MDCCIV." From his careful survey of the Memoirs, Ranke concludes that the biography is not the work of James. The extracts, however, of Carte and Macpherson prove that it is based on autobiographical notes and other authentic material. When the biographer does not use these, his work possesses little value: where he agrees with the extracts, there is little doubt that we have genuine autobiographic material. The fourth part has much to say on the war in Ireland. James drew up several reports on this war and sent them to Louis; these reports and the biography exhibit substantial agreement. In Macpherson's "Original Papers"¹ there are passages identical with the words of the biography.

In the "Memoirs of Sir J. Dalrymple"² there is printed a useful selection of letters. Mr. W. J. Hardy edited the "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, William and Mary"³; volumes i., ii., and iii. cover the years 1689 to 1691.

The author of "A Light to the Blind" is probably Nicholas Plunket, an able lawyer, member of a branch of the House of Fingal. Under the pseudonym of John Rogers he acted in 1713-14

¹ London, 1775. On the value of Macpherson, cf. the *E. H. R.*, xii. 254 ff.

² London, 1790. 3 vols.

³ *Ibid.*, 1895, etc.

as a secret agent in England and on the Continent, working zealously in the interests of James Francis Edward Stuart. Together with the secretary of James, David Nairne, he planned a Jacobite descent to make their master James III. of England. The exact title of Plunket's volume is "A Light to the Blind; whereby they may see the dethronement of James the second, king of England: with a brief narrative of his war in Ireland: and of the war between the emperor and the king of France for the crown of Spain. Anno 1711." It begins with an account of James II. before and after his succession to the crown, and furnishes details of the last days and death of that monarch in September, 1701. There are three books, and the third discusses Continental affairs during the War of the Spanish Succession. "A Light to the Blind" is written from the standpoint of a firm believer in the Stuart cause. To Plunket James is the lawful king and William merely the Prince of Orange. The war is regarded as a revolt from the rule of the Sovereign, who ruled by right divine. Plunket, moreover, is persuaded that the Duke of Tyrconnel was a statesman of the first order. His death "pulled down a mighty edifice—a considerable Catholic nation—for there was no other subject left able to support the national cause." Towards Sarsfield the writer assumes an attitude of hostility, though he praises the "noble feat" of the destruction of the Williamite artillery at Ballyneety. "A Light to the Blind" bestows

much attention upon the schemes of Louis XIV., and indicates why the French monarch should support the Irish. It ought to be added that Sir J. T. Gilbert issued a poor edition of "A Light to the Blind," published under the title of "A Jacobite Narrative of the War in Ireland (1689-91)"¹; it can also be read in the Tenth Report, Appendix, part 5, of the Historical Manuscripts Commission (pp. 107-204).

Colonel Charles O'Kelly (1621-95), in his "Macariae Excidium, or The Destruction of Cyprus,"² writes from the point of view of one who fought on the side of King James. He had fought for the Stuarts from the days of Cromwell, and he finally sheathed his sword in 1691. He was an old man when he served under Sarsfield, but he was defeated by Captain Thomas Lloyd. After the conclusion of the war he retired to his residence at Aughrane, now Castle Kelly, where he spent his remaining days in writing his history of the Irish wars. It affects to be a history of the destruction of Cyprus (Ireland), written originally in Syriac by Philotas Phylocypres (O'Kelly). The internal evidence points to the conclusion that the Latin text is the original of O'Kelly's narrative. Unlike Plunket, he is not at all friendly to Tyrconnel, and is a warm partisan of St. Ruth. Making allowance for these prejudices, "Macariae Excidium" is a very able record.

¹ Dublin, 1892.

² Ed. J. C. O'Callaghan, Dublin, 1846. Ed. Count Plunket and E. Hogan under the title of "The Jacobite War in Ireland" (Dublin, 1894).

William King, the greatest Archbishop of Dublin, wrote "The State of the Protestants in Ireland under the late King James's Government: in which their Carriage towards him is justified, and the absolute Necessity of their endeavouring to be freed from his Government, and of submitting to their present Majesties' is demonstrated."¹ The title of this book indicates precisely its object: it is an apologia for the Revolution. With it may be compared Charles Leslie's "Answer to a Book intituled The State of the Protestants in Ireland."² It is no injustice, however, to Leslie to say that King's book is incomparatively superior. Moreover, the facts that King gives are correct, though now and then he uses rhetoric. His references to contemporary events are faithful, though his inferences are occasionally open to comment. One case may be given. King is contrasting the state of Ireland before and after the Revolution, and here one might expect that his eloquence and his indignation might overcome his regard for truth. As a matter of fact they do not. Such MSS. as Add. 21138, 17406, and 2902 (British Museum) provide chapter and verse for every statement King makes. His correspondence is preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, and it covers in thirty-eight volumes the period from 1681 to 1729. This correspondence the writer has read and reread, and every fresh reading confirms his respect for the accuracy and the insight of King.

¹ London, 1691.

² *Ibid.*, 1692.

Its evidential evidence stands high, for the letters he wrote to his numerous correspondents, gentle and simple, were written while the events were fresh. A man who has good opportunities of learning the truth about public affairs, and has been in the habit of recording matters when they happen, as King did, is an invaluable witness. It is interesting to observe the change in his attitude to public affairs. He was of Scots descent, and at first regarded events in Ireland from an external point of view, but as he grew older he became warmly interested in the stirring events of his day. The majority of his critics have judged him by his "State of the Protestants in Ireland": they have not judged him by his singularly able and statesmanlike letters. The perusal of a letter such as that of January 6, 1697 (197, f. 151, British Museum) is enough to convince the student that he is dealing with an authority of the highest value and impartiality.

Among the published material it is difficult to find detailed accounts of the Jacobite War. Works like Dumont de Bostaquet's "*Mémoires inédits*,"¹ Berwick's "*Mémoires*,"² Schomberg's "*Diary*,"³ the "*Journal*" of S. Mullenau,⁴ and R. Parker's "*Memoirs*,"⁵ give on the whole scanty detail. The few unpublished records resemble the published in this matter. Thus, Ensign Cramond's diary

¹ Paris, 1864.

² Paris, 1778. 2 vols. London, 1779.

³ In that rare book, J. F. A. Kazner's "*Leben Friedrichs von Schomberg oder Schoenburg*" (Mannheim, 1789). There is a copy in the Acton Collection, Cambridge.

⁴ London, 1690.

⁵ Dublin, 1746.

(Add. 29878) furnishes no information of importance. Cramond served in the Low Countries and in Ireland from 1688 to 1691, but was clearly a man of action and nothing else. Bonnivert's "Journal"¹ (1033, British Museum) is somewhat more satisfactory, though it is also deficient in detail. It is a satisfaction to turn from the meagre information of these two diaries to the comparatively ample account of John Stevens (Add. 36296). There is another version, not merely of the introduction, but of a large part of his "Journal,"² and this was used by Ranke.³ It was not kept from day to day. It thus lacks order; dates are dropped into it or left out of it as the purpose of the writer is best served. On the whole, though the Journal is barren of some personal details one wants to know, it is a very human document indeed. It is plain that a scholar like Stevens did not relish his life as a soldier. He is conscious of the mistakes of his generals, of the loss of promotion, of the lack of pay, of the blisters on his feet, and of the hunger in his stomach. Stevens sees, and he makes his readers see. For the truth, the sincerity, and the reality of his account of the Jacobite War much grumbling may be forgiven him. The French point of view in this war may be studied in the Comte de Bussy-Rabutin's "Correspondence avec sa famille et ses amis,

¹ Edited by the writer in the "Transactions of the R.I.A.," January, 1913.

² Edited by the writer (Oxford, 1912).

³ "History of England," vi. 128-43.

1666-93''¹; the magnificent collection of documents which the Marquise de Campagna di Cavelli made in her "Les derniers Stuarts"²: and the Marquis de Dangeau's "Journal, 1684-1720."³

THE REIGNS OF JAMES I. AND CHARLES I.

The State Papers from 1603 to 1625 have been edited by the Rev. C. W. Russell and J. P. Prendergast,⁴ from 1625 to 1670 by R. P. Mahaffy.⁵ The Lismore Papers⁶ consist of autobiographical notes, remembrances, and diaries of Sir Richard Boyle, first and "great" Earl of Cork. They are preserved in Lismore Castle. Boyle's diary runs from January, 1611, to August 13, 1643. The facts given in these papers range from the King to the kern. The great Earl lives and walks as realistically as Samuel Pepys or Samuel Johnson. There are facts on the life of Spenser, players and jesters in Ireland, Sir Walter Raleigh, the iron-works founded and sustained by the great Earl, and there are pleasing glimpses of family and national life. The papers as largely concern the south as the Hamilton MSS.⁷ and the Montgomery MSS.⁸ concern the north, especially in the days of the Ulster Plantation. There are Lives of Boyle

¹ Ed. L. Lalanne. 5 vols. 1858.

² Paris, 1871. 2 vols.

³ Ed. E. Soutr , L. Dussieux, etc. 19 vols. Paris, 1854-60.

⁴ London, 1872-80. 5 vols.

⁵ London, 1900-11. 8 vols.

⁶ Ed. A. Grosart. 2 series. 10 vols. London, 1886.

⁷ Ed. T. K. Lowry. Belfast, 1867.

⁸ Montgomery Manuscripts, 1603-1706 (Belfast, 1869).

by E. Budgell¹ and Mrs. D. Townshend.² The latter refuses to believe that he was an adventurer, like hundreds of others, only infinitely more successful. From the position of a scrivener's clerk he raised himself to be Lord Boyle, Baron of Youghal, Viscount Dungarvan, Earl of Cork, Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, and Privy Councillor of both Ireland and England. He acquired land, which he thoroughly developed. There is some of his correspondence in the R.I.A. and transcripts of the same in the British Museum (Egerton MS. 80).

The Rev. G. Hill wrote an able "Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster, 1608-20."³ It is based on the State Papers, the Patent Rolls, the Inquisitions of Ulster, and the Barony Maps of 1609. The motto of the book is taken from Camden, and, used in another sense than Camden's, manifests the whole tone of this book: "If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their own soil, and foreigners in their own city, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines, nor taken these pains." Hill opens his narrative with a rose-coloured picture of Ulster before the Plantation. He thinks Elizabeth's rule harsh, for the Queen continued "to demoralise and oppress the people by placing garrisons in great numbers amongst them; and also to prohibit them from the free exercise of their religious worship, according

¹ London, 1732. Dublin, 1735.

² "The Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork" (London, 1904).

³ Belfast, 1877.

to the rites and ceremonies required by their Church.”¹ In the index the name of Philip II. never occurs, and it does not seem to strike the author that his own casual reference to the goods owned by a Spaniard in Tyrone’s service was a hint of the fact that many of the subjects of Philip II. were, on the first favourable opportunity, prepared to land in Ulster. The books of Bonn and Butler are most helpful on the Plantation.² Lord Belmore recounts the “Parliamentary Memoirs of Fermanagh and Tyrone, 1613-1885,”³ and the “History of the Two Ulster Manors.”⁴ The Rev. J. B. Woodburn capably traces the evolution of “The Ulster Scot,”⁵ largely from the Presbyterian standpoint. Mr. T. M. Healy writes a poor work, entitled “Stolen Waters, a Page in the Conquest of Ulster,”⁶ and in it he reviews a decision of the House of Lords by which, in his opinion, Lough Neagh “was transferred into private hands.”

The following contemporary accounts of Ireland in the seventeenth century repay perusal: The Itinerary of Fynes Moryson;⁷ Sir Josias Bodley’s visit to Lecale, 1602;⁸ Luke Gernon’s “Discourse of Ireland,” 1620;⁹ Sir William Brereton’s “Travels

¹ P. 56.

² Cf. W. F. Butler, “The Policy of Surrender and Regrant,” *J. R. S. A. I.*, vol. xliii., p. 101 ff., and Hore, “The Archæology of Irish Tenant Right,” *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, O.S., vol. vi., p. 109.

³ Dublin, 1887.

⁴ Dublin, 1881. London, 1903. The two manors are Finagh, co. Tyrone, and Coole, co. Fermagh.

⁵ London, 1914.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1913.

⁷ C. Litton Falkiner, “Illustrations of Irish History,” pp. 211-325.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 326-44.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 345-62.

in Ireland," 1635;¹ M. Jorevin de Rocheford's description, 1668;² Lithgow's "Tour in Ireland," 1619;³ Barnaby Rich's "Remembrance of the State of Ireland in 1672";⁴ a tour in Ireland, 1672;⁵ Dineley, "Tour in Ireland in 1684";⁶ a "Chorographic Account of the Southern Part of the County of Wexford, 1684";⁷ O'Flahertie's "Chorographical Description of Iar Connaught, 1684";⁸ and T. Molyneux's "Journey to Connaught, April, 1709."⁹

THE CAREER OF STRAFFORD.

It is obvious that Strafford, the Richelieu of Ireland, came to the country with the object of reading his royal master a lesson in the art of managing Parliament, and of raising an army for the contest he foresaw in England. The chief source for his career is his Letters and Despatches,¹⁰ and in the appendix to them his friend Sir G. Radcliffe furnishes some biographical notes. This work was edited by William Knowler from the papers of Thomas Watson, Lord Malton and afterwards first Marquess of Rockingham. Earl Fitzwilliam owns at Wentworth-Woodhouse some volumes containing Strafford's unpublished cor-

¹ C. Litton Falkiner, "Illustrations of Irish History," pp. 363-407.

² *Ibid.*, 408-26.

³ *Jour. of Cork Archæol. Soc.*, vol. viii., p. 104 ff.

⁴ *Proc. R.I.A.*, vol. xxvi., p. 125 ff.

⁵ *Jour. of Cork Archæol. Soc.*, vol. x., p. 89 ff.

⁶ *Kilk. Archæol. Jour.*, N.S., vol. v., p. 272 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, N.S., vol. ii., pp. 466 ff.

⁸ *Ir. Archæol. Soc.*, vol. ix., pp. 15 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. i.

¹⁰ Ed. W. Knowler, 2 vols. London, 1739.

respondence, but they are not, as yet, accessible to students. Mr. C. H. Firth edited papers relating to Strafford.¹ There is a biography of Strafford by Elizabeth Cooper² and another by J. Forster, published in Vol. I. of his "Lives of the Statesmen of the Commonwealth."³ Till the correspondence in the possession of Lord Fitzwilliam is available, the best account of Strafford is to be found in Gardiner and Bagwell, especially the former.

It is worthy of notice that the period before the advent of Strafford was one in which all parts of the country were flourishing. It is not too much to say that during the first decade of the reign of James I. the whole future of Ireland was at stake. In the north, from 1603 to 1608, conflicting ideals of race and of organisation emerged. The old order suddenly passed away when the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel embarked at Rathmullen. These Earls felt that their local tribal ideal was being replaced by a central and imperial one. Under the new régime there was no room for them, and accordingly they disappeared in 1607. Doubtless two decisions of far-reaching importance hastened their disappearance. In 1605 the judges declared gavelkind void in law and abolished tanistry. By the former custom the lands of the tribe were equally divided among its members, and by the latter they elected the tanist or successor to the chief. Thus was virtually swept

¹ Camden Soc. London, 1900.

² London, 1866. 2 vols.

³ *Ibid.*, 1836

away a code which, though disturbed by the Danish and Anglo-Norman invasions, had lasted from primitive times to the seventeenth century.

The reasons assigned for this revolution in the land system are obvious. The frequent partition of property and the removal of the tribesmen from one portion of the soil to another gave rise to uncertainty of possession. Consequently no fixed habitations were erected, and no improvements made in the cultivation of the land. Ulster, in the words of Sir John Davis, "seemed to be all one wilderness before the new plantation made by the English undertakers there." This revolution, however, disregarded the fact that the chiefs held the soil on behalf of their tribes, created them absolute owners, and entirely deprived the unfortunate tribesmen of their rights of inheritance. The injury inflicted upon the peasantry lay not in the introduction of English tenure, but in the refusal to recognise any rights save those of the chief.

A colony of English and Scots Protestants, mainly labourers, weavers, mechanics, farmers, and merchants, was established upon the forfeited territories of the two Earls. As a result of this great plantation of 1608, houses and castles were built; schoolhouses and churches were erected in many parishes; the desolate wilds were covered with a happy and thriving population. But the crowning benefit was that it laid the foundation of the welfare of the northern province. Then emerged for the first time that well-known type

of Ulsterman, the self-reliant and self-confident farmer, well clothed, well fed, with corn in his haggard, store in his barn, food in his house, character in the country, and money in the bank. Thirty years had not passed before towns, fortresses, and factories were rearing their heads aloft, changing the whole face of nature and of things. The progress of Belfast dates from the year 1612, when the castle, town, and manor were granted to Sir Arthur Chichester. Its natural advantages, including the magnificent woods of the district, were at last developed. The rich pasture lands of Londonderry, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Cavan, Armagh, and Donegal, were now broken up over vast breadths by the plough of the husbandman; watermills were in full operation; the forests resounded with the ceaseless axe; orchards were planted and nursed with great care; and new tenements and streets grew up under the magic power of industry. This structure of peaceful prosperity arose so quickly because it sprang from the security of tenure which the settlement supplied. For the landlords were in every case to allot "fixed estates" to their tenants, else their own estates were in danger of forfeiture and sequestration at royal discretion. The Crown did not assign the lands in simple feudal ownership, but strictly enjoined the granting of fixed tenures; and out of these sprang that custom of tenant right which has written its history so deeply and so visibly upon the broad acres of Ulster.

THE REBELLION OF 1641.

What were the causes of it? Was one, as S. R. Gardiner argues, the indignation aroused by the plantations of Elizabeth and James I.? Was another—the view of Cromwell—the unprovoked massacre of the settlers by the Roman Catholics during the first year of the Rebellion? Was another, as Sir J. Temple,¹ E. Borlase,² and Hume think, Roman Catholic or Jesuit intrigue? Was another the hostilities awakened by the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation? Was another, as Mr. Dunlop holds, the feeling of antagonism between the English and the Irish? He dwells much on the fear of the legislation of the English Parliament entertained by the Irish. The immediate occasions were the conduct of Rory O'More, the necessities of Charles I., and the assistance promised by Cardinal Richelieu.

The investigation of the Depositions preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, is an urgent need. In "The Bloody Bridge"³ T. Fitzpatrick has examined half a dozen cases, and books like his on other cases are an imperious necessity. Apart from considerations like this, the Depositions are as valuable as the Clarke Papers in lending assistance in the exploration of the social condition of Ireland.

It is useful to compare the Galway and Ros-

¹ "The Irish Rebellion" (London, 1646. Cork, 1766).

² "History of the Execrable Irish Rebellion" (London, 1680. Dublin, 1743).

³ Dublin, 1903.

common Depositions with the Memoirs of the Earl of Clanricarde. He was the principal nobleman in Connaught at the time, a Roman Catholic in religion—the most valuable asset the Government possessed in the west of Ireland at the moment, if his general ability and strict integrity had received proper recognition. He was always seriously handicapped by the circumstance that the Lords Justices failed to appreciate the forces at work in the life of Galway. Had he received support, events might have assumed a very different course from what they did.

The Depositions declare that a kind of revolutionary Government was set up in Galway, and this Government they describe as “a Council of Eight.” Of this number Clanricarde specially mentions three: Francis Blake, John Blake Fitz Nicholas, and John Blake Fitz Robert.¹ He alludes to the last two in his letter of May 27, 1642, from Portumna to the Mayor of Galway.² Both the Depositions and Clanricarde allude to the seizure of a ship named the *Elizabeth*, 200 tons burthen, belonging to a man named Robert Clarke. This incident was reported by Willoughby, the Governor of Galway Fort, to Clanricarde in a letter written on the night of March 19.³ This ship left Galway for France about the beginning of November, 1641, laden with hides, tallow, and

¹ “Memoirs” (London, 1757), p. 139; Galway Depositions, F. 3, I., No. 22.

² “Memoirs,” p. 154; Galway Depositions, F. 3, I., Nos. 20 and 22.

³ “Memoirs,” p. 81; Galway Depositions, F. 3, I., No. 15.

other commodities, and returned to Galway with arms and ammunition. John Turner, Clerk of the Fort Stores and Surveyor of Customs, seized it by virtue of a warrant from the Lords Justices in Council and also from Clanricarde, empowering him to procure two out of the five barrels of powder.¹ For this action Turner was imprisoned, but was released by Clanricarde.

At Clarenbridge, about four miles from Galway, three Englishmen were hanged by order of Lord Clanmorris.² Clanricarde refers to this incident in his "Memoirs,"³ where it appears that the execution took place because one of Clanmorris's troop had been executed in Galway Fort. Clanmorris had treated the three men as spies because they carried no credentials from the Governor.

The Irish revolutionary organisation of Roscommon was effected by the conspirators at a meeting at Ballintobber about Christmas, 1641, where an oath was taken to maintain the King's prerogative and to establish the Roman religion in Ireland. From the Deposition evidence of Colonel Hugh O'Connor, we learn that the Irish appointed Clanricarde as their General, but he declined to accept the appointment until His Majesty's pleasure had been signified.⁴ This is also fully borne out in the "Memoirs."⁵

The outstanding feature of the evidence relating

¹ "Memoirs," p. 42; Galway Depositions, F. 3, I., No. 15.

² Galway Depositions, F. 3, I., Nos. 39, 42, 61, and 79.

³ P. 203.

⁴ Roscommon Depositions, F. 3, I., No. 11.

⁵ Pp. 94, 95.

to the events in Mayo was a massacre of a convoy of Protestants at Shrule after the siege of Castlebar. This unfortunate event occurred on Sunday evening, February 13, 1642. The Irish granted this party a safe conduct to Galway Fort.¹ It was under the protection of Edmund Bourke, and accompanying it was an escort under the personal command of Lord Mayo.² At Shrule Bridge Lord Mayo's soldiers ordered the Protestants to cross, and while they were on the bridge commenced to pillage and to kill them. Lord Mayo, it is stated, watched the carnage from an adjoining hill. His son, Sir Theobald Burke, attempted subsequently to absolve his father from all responsibility on the ground that his father had left an hour before the murders were committed.³ Independent testimony regarding the Shrule affair is found in the "Memoirs," where we gather that Clanricarde received a letter on February 20 from the Bishop of Killala, who had escaped. Clanricarde on February 21 congratulated the Bishop on his "happy escape out of that bloody, inhuman massacre."⁴

T. C. Croker gathers "Narratives of the Contests in Ireland in 1641 and 1690."⁵ Sir J. T. Gilbert amasses much contemporary evidence in his "Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction; or, A

¹ Mayo Depositions, F. 3, II., No. 5.

² *Ibid.*, F. 3, II., No. 5.

³ *Ibid.*, F. 3, II., No. 25.

⁴ "Memoirs," pp. 73, 74. Cf. p. 290.

⁵ It contains M. Cuffe's "Siege of Ballyally Castle in the County of Clare, 1641," and the "Macariae Excidium" (Camden Soc. London, 1841).

Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland from 1641 to 1652”¹ and in his “History of the Irish Confederation.”² The substance of the latter is a narrative by Richard Bellings, who was secretary of the Supreme Council, and therefore had every opportunity of ascertaining the facts. The editor gathers the scattered material which Bellings produced, and adds to it many documents from different sources, especially from the Carte MSS. These letters, diaries, and State papers are of the last importance. Well worth perusal are the “Historical Works”³ of N. French, Bishop of Ferns; the “Alithinologia, sive Veridica Responsio”⁴ and “Cambrensis Eversus”⁵ of J. Lynch; and E. Hogan’s edition of “The Irish War of 1641,”⁶ which was written by an officer of Clotworthy’s Regiment. G. Aiazzi describes the “Nuntiatura in Irlanda di Monsignor Gio. Batista Rinuccini, Arcivescovo di Fermo, negli anni 1645 a 1649.”⁷ There are forty-seven pages of documents. The Rebellion to Rinuccini was “one purely for the sake of religion.”⁸ His main object was to secure the public celebration of the Roman Catholic faith by the aid of papal gold. The aim of the Pope and his Nuncio was “to purge the kingdom of heresy,”⁹ “the extermination of heresy.”¹⁰ When he pronounces an interdict on the kingdom

¹ 6 parts. Dublin, 1878-80.

² 7 vols. Dublin, 1882-91.

³ 2 vols. Dublin, 1846.

⁴ 2 parts. St. Omer (?), 1664-47.

⁵ 3 vols. Dublin, 1848-52.

⁶ Dublin, 1873.

⁷ Firenze, 1844. Trans. A. Hutton, Dublin, 1873.

⁸ P. lxi.

⁹ P. 201.

¹⁰ P. 203.

he finds seven Bishops, with the Carmelites and Jesuits, opposed to him. His embassy was a failure, for he alienated every man of eminence, even of the Old Irish party. Owen Roe O'Neill stands out in his pages, though Rinuccini admits that after the Battle of Benburb the slaughter lasted two days.

Among the modern works are J. McDonnell's "Light of History respecting the Massacres in Ireland (1580-1641)"¹ and his "Ulster Civil War of 1641";² C. P. Meehan's poor "Confederation of Kilkenny";³ W. C. Taylor's "Civil Wars in Ireland";⁴ J. F. Taylor's "Owen Roe O'Neill";⁵ F. Warner's "History of the Rebellion and Civil War in Ireland (1641-60)";⁶ and D. Coffey's "O'Neill and Ormond."⁷

THE COMMONWEALTH.

The "Memoirs"⁸ (1625-72) of E. Ludlow and the "Collection of State Papers"⁹ (1638-60) of J. Thurloe occupy a high place. J. P. Prendergast wrote a remarkable volume on "The Cromwellian Settlement."¹⁰ Gardiner, however, shows that Prendergast was more intent on describing the woes of the Irish than in trying to give a complete view of the Government of the Commonwealth. This author's references are not impeccable. Father D. Murphy wrote "Cromwell in Ireland,"¹¹

¹ Dublin, 1886.

² *Ibid.*, 1879.

³ *Ibid.*, 1846.

⁴ London, 1830.

² vols.

⁵ Dublin, 1896.

⁶ London, 1767.

⁷ Dublin, 1914.

⁸ Oxford, 1894.

⁹ London, 1742.

¹⁰ London, 1870.

¹¹ Dublin, 1883

August, 1649-May, 1650. He uses Cromwell's letters, the newspapers of the time, the narratives of eyewitnesses, and extracts from contemporary writers: there is an appendix with 65 pages of documents.

THE RESTORATION.

There are the State papers; the "State Letters"¹ (1660-68) of the first Earl of Orrery; and "The Rawdon Papers"² (1634-94). The period immediately after 1660 is very important indeed, needing a legal mind to grasp the mazes of the King's Declaration of November 30, 1660; the Act of Settlement of September 27, 1662; and the Act of Explanation. Prendergast once planned a history of the Restoration settlement, and gave up the task in despair. His "Ireland from the Restoration to the Revolution"³ is unworthy of him. The subject made no appeal to Carte. Froude, Lecky, and Bagwell avoided it. "Studies in Irish History, 1649-1775,"⁴ furnishes little assistance, though Mr. P. Wilson writes well on the reign of Charles II., and has paid attention to the pamphlets of the time. The working of the Penal Laws receives notice in R. R. Madden's "History of the Penal Laws."⁵ In G. Crolly's "Life and Death of Oliver Plunket, Primate of Ireland,"⁶ and in Cardinal P. F. Moran's "Memoirs of the Most Rev. Oliver Plunket"⁷ there is much

¹ Dublin, 1743.

² London, 1819.

³ *Ibid.*, 1887.

⁴ Ed. R. B. O'Brien. Dublin, 1903.

⁵ London, 1847.

⁶ Dublin, 1850.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1861.

matter on this subject. At Rome there has been privately printed "*Beatificationis seu Declarationis Martyrii Servorum Dei Dermith O'Hurley, Archiepiscopi Casseliensis, Cornelii O'Devany, O.S.F., Episcopi Dunensis et Connorensis et Sociorum pro Fide, uti fertur, in Hibernia interfectorum.*"¹ It contains a mass of documents in its 1,500 pages, beginning with the year 1509 and going down to 1714. It is obvious that the main reason why the Roman Catholic was not permitted to possess land was because he owed allegiance to the Pope, who was then a temporal sovereign. Land lay behind the whole matter. On the agrarian problem there is a fine edition of the works of Sir W. Petty by C. H. Hull.² With Petty ought to be read W. H. Hardinge's able essay "*On Manuscript, Mapped, and other Townland Surveys in Ireland.*"³ There are two careful biographies of Petty by Lord Fitzmaurice⁴ and by W. L. Bevan.⁵ Lord Fitzmaurice employs Petty's papers at Bowood, the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian, and the Egerton and other MSS. in the British Museum.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

Among the older material are the "*State Letters*"⁶ of the Earl of Clarendon. They cover the years 1687-90, and with them there is an interesting diary. W. Harris's "*History of the Life and Reign of William III.*"⁷ still deserves

¹ Rome, 1914.

² Cambridge, 1899. 2 vols.

³ Dublin, 1864-65.

⁴ London, 1895.

⁵ New York, 1894.

⁶ London, 1828.

⁷ Dublin, 1749.

notice, largely on account of the documents it contains. Dean G. Story wrote "A True and Impartial History of the . . . Wars of Ireland,"¹ and he also wrote "A Continuation of the Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland."² Among the modern works R. Cane discussed the "Williamite and Jacobite Wars in Ireland,"³ leaving it in unfinished condition. J. Todhunter compiled a "Life of Patrick Sarsfield."⁴ The Rev T. Witherow wrote a very useful account of "Derry and Enniskillen in 1689"⁵: in spite of its unpretentiousness it is a valuable work. Lord Wolseley wrote with the eye of a soldier and the heart of a Protestant what promised to be the standard "John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough,"⁶ and in it he describes the exploits of his hero in Ireland. Clifford Walton's "British Standing Army, 1660-1700"⁷ is a mine of information. It is a book which is little known, and ought to be in the hands of all who seek to understand the tactics and the strategy of the Jacobite Wars. Even the first volume of the Hon. W. J. Fortescue⁸ does not wholly supersede it. Mr. D. C. Boulger has written a valuable narrative of "The Battle of the Boyne."⁹ There is much to be learnt respecting the plans of Louis XIV. from such works as Miss M. F. Sandars' "Lauzun, Courtier and Adventurer; The Life of

¹ London, 1691.² *Ibid.*, 1693.³ Dublin (n. d.).⁴ London, 1895.⁵ Belfast, 1885.⁶ London, 1894.⁷ London, 1894. Charles Dalton's "English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661-1714," and "Irish Army Lists, 1661-85," should also be consulted.⁸ London, 1899.⁹ *Ibid.*, 1911.

a Friend of Louis XIV.”;¹ C. F. M. Rousset’s “Histoire de Louvois et de son administration”²; and M. Immich’s “Pabst Innocenz XI.”³

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE.

There is much to be gleaned on social life from the Tours and Travels discussed earlier.⁴ Of late the economic life has received a fair amount of notice. Miss Murray (Mrs. Radice) wrote an important study of the “Commercial Relations between England and Ireland,”⁵ which is based on first-hand evidence throughout. Of course J. H. Hutchinson’s “Commercial Restraints of Ireland Considered”⁶ is still noteworthy. Mr. W. R. Scott in his great work, “Joint Stock Companies to 1720,”⁷ discusses Irish companies, especially in his second volume. Mr. G. O’Brien has studied “The Economic History of Ireland in the Seventeenth Century”⁸ to good purpose. Mr. J. J. Webb has investigated “Industrial Dublin since 1698, and the Silk Industry in Dublin”⁹ and “Municipal Government in Ireland.”¹⁰ Unfortunately in both books he refuses to furnish references, and leaves them unindexed.

¹ London, 1908.

² Paris, 1862.

³ Berlin, 1900.

⁴ Cf. my “Social Life in Ireland after the Restoration,” *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1913.

⁵ London, 1903.

⁶ Dublin, 1888.

⁷ Cambridge, 1910-12.

⁸ London, 1919.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1913.

¹⁰ Dublin, 1918.

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IRELAND, 1714 - 1829

BY THE REV.

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EDITOR OF "THE JOURNAL OF JOHN STEVENS"

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PREFACE

THERE are exhaustive bibliographies in vol. vi. of the "Cambridge Modern History" by Mr. R. Dunlop, pp. 913-924; in vol. ix. by Mr. G. P. Gooch, pp. 881-882; and in vol. x. by Mr. H. W. C. Davis, pp. 860-866. I omit matters which I discuss in my "Public Record Office, Dublin" and my "Some Manuscripts preserved in Trinity College, Dublin."

ROBERT H. MURRAY.

11, HARCOURT TERRACE,
DUBLIN.

IRELAND, 1714-1829

THE leading features of the Ireland of the eighteenth century are the increase in the power of Parliament, the Act of Union, the removal of the Penal Laws, the Rebellion of 1798, the French Invasions, and the passing of Foster's Corn Law.

THE IRISH PARLIAMENT, 1714-1800.

The demand for seats became strong after 1688, with the result that wider definitions were given to the term "freeholder." Ten years later clerks in Holy Orders, schoolmasters, and town clerks were regarded as *ipso facto* freeholders. The idea was extended, and after 1715 trustees and mortgagees exercised the right to vote at county elections. The 1 Geo. II., c. 29, applied the provision as to six months' possession in the Act of 1715 to trustees and mortgagees, thus rendering the custom legal. For the first time in England or Ireland this Act established distinctions between freeholders, for by it no freeholder whose freehold was under the value of £10 was to vote, unless a memorial of the deed by which his freehold was granted was entered six months before the date of election with

the clerk of the peace. This clause, however, lent itself to corrupt practices. The 19 Geo. II., c. 11, endeavoured to check these practices and the evasion which was common. This measure gave publicity and required the freeholder to take an oath in open court as to the possession of his freehold and its value. Parliament was resolved to prevent the creation of freeholders, and, by the 21 Geo. II., c. 10, the practice of making freeholds when an election was pending was stopped. This Bill legalised non-resident members of borough corporations. This worked in the opposite direction, for it did not diminish the number of the voters. This clause was accidental in the Act of 1747. It was due to a quarrel between rival borough masters consequent on the sale of Newtownards.¹ One of these masters was Alexander Castlereagh, whose grandson carried the Union. He protested against it, as it meant that the non-residents would dominate the residents. This was the complaint of Kilmallock in 1783² and of Newtownards in 1784.³ The latter town then complained that though there were five hundred houses in the borough, yet the free burgesses by whom the parliamentary elections were made were, with one exception, non-resident. It was indeed a fatal clause.

As in Bristol and Maldon, marriage with a free-man's daughter involved before 1747 admission

¹ Hist. MSS. Comm., 12th Rep., App., pt. x., 111.

² H. of C. Journals, xi. 46.

³ *Ibid.*, xi. 200.

to the freedom of the borough. Usages like these quietly disappeared through the manipulation of the borough patrons and their managers on the corporations.¹

Since 1704 Nonconformists had been excluded from the House of Commons, and there were movements for their relief in 1719² and 1733 which encountered the determined opposition of Primate Boulter.³ By 1778 the Volunteers had come into being. The revolt of the American colonies was due in part to exiled Presbyterians, and it undoubtedly strengthened the public feeling which supported Sir Edward Newenham, and, by the 19 and 20 Geo. III., c. 6, the sacramental test was removed.⁴ Lord North opposed it because he was afraid that if this Bill passed in Dublin it would stimulate the movement for the repeal of the Test Act in England.⁵ Practically, the Presbyterians profited but little. The favour of the patron was still far more important than any legislative enactment of Parliament. "It is reasonable," thinks Mr. Porritt, "to conclude that the Dissenters in the boroughs gained little more from the Act wrung from the English and Irish administrations in 1780 than the Catholics in the boroughs did from the Act of 1793; and the exclusion of Dissenters from the municipal corporations extended, in prac-

¹ Irish Municipal Commission, 1835, 1st Rep., App., pt. i., 761, 762.

² H. of C. Journals, iii. 233.

³ "Boulter Letters," ii. 109-114.

⁴ H. of C. Journals, x. 11.

⁵ Addit. MSS. 34523, f. 337.

tice, if not by law, from the reign of Queen Anne until the Union."¹

It is manifest that in the reign of George II. the sale of seats was well known. According to Sir J. T. Gilbert, "the House of Commons of Ireland acquired new importance so rapidly, from the transactions of 1753 [*i.e.*, the struggle over the Money Bill of that year], that a borough sold in the succeeding year for three times the price paid for it in 1750."² With annoying vagueness, Gilbert does not tell us what the price was in 1750. It is useful to remember that the lifetime of a Parliament ceased only by the death of the King. In 1760 Adderley offered Lord Charlemont £600 to £800 for a seat.³ Curiously enough, in 1793 Grattan made the same estimate for this year.⁴ One result of the Octennial Act, 1768, was a serious increase in the amount paid for a seat.⁵ In 1774 Lord North was told by a Dublin Castle official that a seat cost at least 2,000 guineas. This is certainly an exaggeration, for in 1783 they were sold for £2,000 apiece.⁶ This may be regarded as the normal price for the next seventeen years.

In 1785 a Bill for the prevention of the sale of seats was introduced. It was opposed by a reformer, William Brownlow. He contended that the existing system enabled the most advanced men,

¹ "The Unreformed House of Commons," ii. 347.

² "History of the City of Dublin," iii. 101.

³ Hist. MSS. Comm., 12th Rep., App., pt. x., 12.

⁴ *Parl. Reg.*, xiii. 34.

⁵ Addit. MSS. 34523, f. 254.

⁶ H. of C. Journals, xi. 46.

those of independent spirit, unconnected and uninfluenced by persons by whom they were nominally returned, to find their way into the House. If patrons were forbidden to sell they would return their own creatures, or they would give the nomination to the ministers, and the public would pay the price of the seat to the person who misrepresented them.¹ In practice, however, the fifty or sixty members² returned in this fashion did not entertain the aims Brownlow attributed to them. On the eve of the Union Beresford wrote: "As to the boroughs, many of the proprietors are very poor, and have lived by the sale of them. Upon the late General Election boroughs did not sell readily, and several of the proprietors were obliged to come in themselves. They cannot be expected to give up their interest for nothing; and those who bought their seats cannot be expected to give up their term for nothing."³

James I. once referred to the strange kind of beast, the undertaker, who had appeared in order to assist him in managing an unruly Parliament. This "beast" disappeared in England, but he appeared in Ireland⁴ till Lord Townshend, the Lord Lieutenant, broke his influence. In 1767 he saw that the undertakers derived their strength from the Crown, which was not the gainer by the change. The gainer was to some extent the

¹ Cf. *Parl. Reg.*, iv. 58, 59.

² Addit. MSS. 34523, f. 277; Castlereagh Correspondence, ii. 151.

³ Beresford Correspondence, ii. 210.

⁴ Pellew, "Life of Lord Sidmouth," ii. 208.

Lord Lieutenant, now continuously resident, and the Chief Secretary, but the county families still contrived to hold much influence. "Every man I see," noted Buckinghamshire, the Lord Lieutenant in 1779, "solicits peerage, privy council, or pension."¹ In the end such men overreached themselves. For Cornwallis, the Viceroy in 1798, there was no more forcible argument for the Union "than the overgrown Parliamentary power of five or six of our pampered boroughmongers, who are become most formidable to Government by their long possession of the entire patronage of the Crown in their respective districts."² Nor did this state of affairs end in 1800. The only difference is that before this date Irishmen were the sole competitors in the sale of seats, whereas now Englishmen and Scotchmen joined in the competition. In the Imperial Parliament of 1807-12 Athlone, Bandon, Carlow, Cashel, Dundalk, Dungannon, Enniskillen, Kilkenny, Kinsale, Portarlington, New Ross, Tralee, and Wexford were represented by Englishmen or Scotchmen, "few of whom ever saw Ireland, and who cannot be supposed to have a greater knowledge of its real situation than they have of Thibet or Abyssinia."³

The enfranchisement of the Roman Catholics in 1793 added to this corruption. Some of the hostility to this measure was discounted when the landlords saw that they could "make the ignorant

¹ Addit. MSS. 34523, f. 196.

² Cornwallis Correspondence, iii. 110.

³ Wakefield, "Ireland; Statistical and Political," ii. 314.

masses subservient to their ambition.”¹ That acute observer, Lord Cloncurry, noted that “a new trade sprang up in the country. Men speculated in the multiplication of forty-shilling freeholders, as they ought to have done in the breeding of sheep.”² The day was to come in 1826 when the landlords were deposed in favour of Daniel O’Connell and the priests. Elections before 1800 were infrequent, and Parliament met only in alternate years. This plan held good from 1703 to 1787.³

Between the Speaker at Westminster and the Government of the day there came to be no partisan relationships, but in Dublin the exact reverse was the case. The Irish Speaker was commonly a nominee of the Court. In the early part of the eighteenth century the Viceroy was not resident, though he was in the closing decades. Down to 1767 there was an intimate connection between the Speaker and the undertakers. This comes out clearly in the important correspondence between Primate Boulter and the Duke of Dorset, who was Lord-Lieutenant from 1730 to 1737.⁴ Boyle was Speaker in 1733: he was so influential that Walpole described him as the King of the House of Commons. He was also Chancellor of the Exchequer and a Commissioner of Revenue.⁵ From 1765 to 1800 the salary

¹ Whiteside, “Life and Death of the Irish Parl.,” 182.

² “Personal Recollections,” 35.

³ Mountmorres, i. 418; Froude, i. 325.

⁴ Philipps, “Boulter Letters,” ii. 95, 97.

⁵ “Life of Henry Boyle,” 37.

of the Speaker amounted to £5,000 a session.¹ After 1767 he ceased to hold offices under the Crown. In spite of this, he remained as partisan as the Speaker of the House of Representatives at Washington. There were now and then differences between the Speaker and the Government, but usually these were susceptible of adjustment.

Speaker Pery opposed Buckinghamshire, the Viceroy, in 1778 and 1779 on the question of free trade, which then meant freedom to trade with the British colonies, not free trade in our sense.² Pery pressed Lord North to relieve the disabilities of the Dissenters in 1779³ and he supported the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1778. In 1786 Speaker Foster succeeded Pery, and the mantle of opposition of the latter fell upon him. Unlike Pery, he opposed the enfranchisement of the Roman Catholics,⁴ and he offered the very stoutest opposition to the Union.⁵ It is worthy of notice that the orders of the House of Commons were those of the English House adapted or adopted. For example, Sir Henry Cavendish in 1793 was anxious to check irregularities of debate which the existing orders did not prevent. He assured his fellow-members that his plan "was not a child of his own fancy, but was an order adopted by the British House of Commons."⁶

¹ H. of C. Journals, xix. 279; Macartney, "Account of Ireland in 1773," 36.

² Addit. MSS. 34523, ff. 246, 258, 259, 267.

³ Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep., App., 207. ⁴ *Parl. Reg.*, xiii. 332. Castlereagh Correspondence, ii. 136; iii. 57.

⁵ *Parl. Reg.*, xiii. 252.

Election petitions were every whit as partisan in Dublin as they were in Westminster. Sir Lucius O'Brien and Dr. Lucas determined to follow the provisions of the memorable Grenville Act of 1770. Their measure of 1771 was closely modelled on the Grenville Act, and was one of the most important Bills passed in the whole eighteenth century. At first it was to continue in force only for seven years, but in 1774 it was made perpetual,¹ which meant it lasted to 1800. One drawback to the measure was that the lodging of an election petition meant that the member whose return was questioned sent a challenge to a duel to the lodger of the petition.

In the reign of Queen Anne pensioners were excluded from the House of Commons, and the number of office-holders was restricted. We have to wait till the year 1793 for similar legislation in Dublin. When Townshend destroyed the undertakers in 1767 he *ipso facto* rendered the office-holder the bulwark of the administration. Parliament increasingly felt this, and waged a fierce warfare against the office-holder and the pensioner. In 1768 the Octennial Bill limited the duration of Parliament. In 1782 Poynings' Law was at last repealed, and the Privy Council saw much of its legislative functions disappear. In 1787 Parliament began to meet every year instead of alternate years. As agitation succeeded, fresh measures were presented, and the House of Commons felt

¹ H. of C. Journals, ix. 143.

the influence of the American Revolution. There had been a Place and Pension Bill in 1756, and there had been agitation from 1785 onwards.¹ In 1790 Forbes estimated that there were 104 office-holders and pensioners in the House of Commons. To the amazement of the House, Major Hobart, the Chief Secretary, approved the principle of Forbes' measure, and in 1793 the 33 Geo. III., c. 41, passed. This measure also permitted the introduction of the Irish equivalent of the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds. The desirability of such a method of releasing members is obvious from the fact that there was no General Election from the accession of George II. to that of George III. The escheatorships of the four Provinces served the same purpose as the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds.

The office-holders had served the Government faithfully, but before the year 1782 Poyning's Law was not less effective. Under it the Privy Council exercised its power in transmitting or altering the heads of measures sent to it by Parliament. Primate Boulter lays stress on this all-important function in his correspondence with Newcastle.² As it was desirable to put office-holders in the House of Commons, it was no less desirable to secure that among the Privy Councillors there should be a majority on the side of the Government. Once this position had been reached, Boulter is unwilling to add to the Privy Council.

¹ H. of C. Journals, xi. 437.

² Phillips, "Boulter Letters," ii. 148, 307-8.

The effect of this on the Members of Parliament was clear to that intelligent observer, Arthur Young, who said: "I heard many very eloquent speeches, but I cannot say they struck me like the exertion of the abilities of Irishmen in the English House of Commons, owing perhaps to the reflection, both on the speaker and on the auditor, that the Attorney-General of England with a dash of his pen can revise, alter, or entirely do away with the matured results of all the eloquence and all the abilities of this whole assembly."¹ Primate Boulter was well aware that "in the method of our Parliament, no Bill can be carried by surprise because, though the heads of a Bill may be carried on a sudden, yet there is time for a party to be gathered against it by the time a Bill can pass the Council here [*i.e.*, in Dublin] and be returned from England, when it is again to pass through both Houses for their approbation before it can pass into law."²

How little power the House of Commons possessed is clear from the working of Poynings' Law, and is no less clear from the circumstance that it was only through the Privy Council it could address the throne. Members might—and did—resent their powerlessness, but up to the time of the American Revolution there was no public opinion behind them, save in the days of Swift's tempestuous agitation against Wood's halfpence in 1724 and in that of 1757 against Poynings' Law. From then to 1782 the House of Commons steadily asserted itself.

¹ "Tour in Ireland," i. 20. ² Phillips, "Boulter Letters," ii. 111.

There had been some public feeling behind the contest on a Money Bill in 1753,¹ and the people began to demonstrate against the place-holders who supported the policy of Primate Stone. This popular interest precedes by ten years the outburst on behalf of Wilkes. Samuel Lucas, the Wilkes of Dublin, was prominent in securing the passing of a standing order in 1764, which declares that "no Bill shall pass in this House until a committee of this House shall compare the transmiss with the original heads of the Bill, and report if any and what alterations have been made therein to the House."² In 1776 Flood headed the opposition to Poynings' Law, but he succumbed to official influence.

The agitation continued for sixteen years more and then triumphed. Mr. Porritt skilfully summarises the aims of the leaders of the Opposition in saying that they "were agitating for a Septennial Act; for annual sessions of Parliament; for a mitigation of the penal code; for an Act making the judges irremovable; for an overhauling of the pension list; for a mutiny Act; for parliamentary reform; and for the freedom of Irish trade from the restraining laws imposed in the interests of England which had grievously hampered Ireland all through the eighteenth century."³ In spite of the work of men like Lucas, it is obvious that there was

¹ Gilbert, "History of Dublin," iii. 101.

² H. of C. Journals, vii. 260.

³ "The Unreformed House of Commons," ii. 441.

a decided lack of the spirit which makes for constitutionalism. For example, it was necessary in 1775 to pass a law for the prevention of rioting and the mutilation of poll-books. Mr. Porritt is justified in pointing out that there is no English statute for the prevention of riots deliberately organised to give sheriffs the pretext for closing polls, or to authorise judges to send into transportation men convicted of mutilating or secreting poll-books.¹

Dr. W. Hunt edited "The Irish Parliament, 1775,"² which records the arts of parliamentary management as practised by a member of the administration whose ostensible object was the reform of abuses in the parliamentary system. The book, however, adds little to the facts presented in the two volumes of the Harcourt Papers. It is improbable that the editor is right in his conjecture that the author of the list is Sir John Blaquiere. There are thirty-seven volumes, giving an account of the debates of the House of Commons, 1776-89, in the Library of Congress, Washington. In the Second Report of the Historical MSS. Commission³ Lord Fitzmaurice describes them as a collection of "thirty-seven manuscript volumes, quarto, of the debates held in the Irish House of Commons, between 1776 and 1789, with the corresponding shorthand notes contained in oblong notebooks interleaved with blotting paper. . . . The notes are believed to have been confidentially made

¹ "The Unreformed House of Commons," i. 215.

² London, 1907. ³ Hist. MSS. Comm., App., 99, 102 (1871).

by a shorthand writer under the direction of the Government. . . . The collection was preserved until 1817 at the Stamp Office, King William Street, Dublin, when it was sold as lumber. . . . In 1842 these manuscript volumes were advertised in a catalogue by Messrs. Grant and Bolton, booksellers, Grafton Street, Dublin, and purchased by Mr. Torrens. . . . Mr. Torrens before now expressed his willingness to place the collection at the disposal of the governors of Trinity College, Dublin, or of the British Museum. No notice has, however, been taken of this offer with a view to publication."

The reports are genuine, and the work of a man who actually heard the speeches delivered. Lord Fitzmaurice prints a speech of Grattan from the "Parliamentary Register" and from these volumes,¹ of date October 28, 1789, and it is quite evident that a comparison of the two leaves no doubt that the manuscript account is more faithful than the printed one. The reporter does not give us the speeches verbatim, and he was present about half the time the House met. There are no reports for the years 1786, 1787, and 1788. He furnishes reports always when there was an important debate. Each of his volumes contains about 300 pages, with about 200 words to the page.

The thirty-seven volumes enable us better to understand the share taken by Grattan in the repeal of Poynings' Law in 1782. Lord North

¹ Hist. MSS. Comm., App., 100.

was greatly upset by this, for, as he informed Buckinghamshire in 1780, "all these questions, if not quashed in Ireland, have a direct tendency to bring on all those evils which we have been labouring to avoid."¹ The student of the growth of public opinion will be interested in seeing how effectively the Irish leaders engineered the agitation. Grattan's speeches,² powerful as they are, received weight when it was realised that 40,000 armed Volunteers lay behind them. We are fortunate in having such published works as Lecky's great "History" and his "Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland,"³ Froude's, Ball's,⁴ Litton Falkiner's,⁵ Dunlop's,⁶ Sullivan's,⁷ and the able book of J. R. Fisher,⁸ as they all help us to understand how the Irish orator was able to propose a resolution, declaring in 1780 "that no person on earth save the King, Lords, and Commons has a right to make laws for Ireland." With prescience Fitzgibbon, afterwards Lord Clare, objected that a revival of Irish nationality meant a nationality not only of the Irish Protestants but of the Roman Catholic Celts. It meant the undoing of the work of Elizabeth, James, and Cromwell.

The Volunteers met at Dungannon, and were animated to fresh agitation by the addresses of

¹ Addit. MSS. 34523, ff. 336, 339.

² "Speeches." London, 1822, 4 vols. ³ London, 1903, 2 vols.

⁴ "Irish Legislative Systems." London, 1889.

⁵ "Studies in Irish History." London, 1902.

⁶ "Life of H. Grattan." London, 1889.

⁷ In "Two Centuries of Irish History." London, 1888.

⁸ "The End of the Irish Parliament." London, 1911.

Grattan, Flood, and Charlemont. The new Viceroy, the Earl of Carlisle, changed front, a change in part due to the effects of the disastrous fall of Yorktown. The repeal of Poynings' Act became legal on July 27, 1782. A thanksgiving day was appointed to celebrate "the union, harmony, and cordial affection which has lately been brought about between those two kingdoms, whose interests are inseparably the same, by the wisdom and justice of his Majesty and his Council in confirming and re-establishing their mutual rights."¹

The legislation of 1782 stands out as the first to be due to the combined pressure of the Parliament, the people, and the Press. George III. told Pitt that he had taught him to look elsewhere than in the House of Commons for an understanding of the feelings of the nation. The lesson was reinforced by the example of Ireland. There was a wave of public feeling in London which took the form of the Gordon Riots, but the first emphatic case was the unparalleled agitation for the Reform Bill of 1832, and Ireland preceded that by at least fifty years.

After 1782 the House of Lords acquired more importance than it had possessed before. In 1751 there were only twenty-eight peers, and the Bishops formed a majority in the House.² In Boulter's letters it is abundantly evident that some of the peers were quite needy people.³ With the excep-

¹ H. of C. Journals, x. 354.

² Addit. MSS. 34523, f. 180.

³ Phillips, "Boulter Letters," ii. 84-87, 123-125, 131.

tion of divorce Bills, there were not half a dozen other measures which originated in the session in the Upper House.¹ The reign of George III. witnessed a vast accession to the peerage, and not a few English borough owners and Members of Parliament were raised to Irish peerages. The Irish peers began to be reckoned a force in Westminster, not in Dublin. Lord Buckinghamshire points out that from 1751 to 1779 no less than thirty-nine peers were created—that is, there was an increase of practically 150 per cent.² There were 28 peers in 1751 and there were 207 in 1800, a lavishness unprecedented.³ Even after 1782 the attacks on the Government uniformly proceeded from the Lower, and not from the Upper, House. The peers resembled the members of the Paris Parlement, for they fought more vigorously over ceremonial than over anything else.

The strangers' gallery was largely unoccupied till 1753,⁴ but from that date to 1782 there was a large attendance. James Caldwell, the first Irish parliamentary reporter, attended the session of 1763-64.⁵ It is curious to find that men like Flood and Curran appealed as regularly to members of the gallery as to members of the House.⁶ The front row of seats was usually reserved for ladies. From

¹ Macartney, "Account of Ireland in 1773," 65.

² Addit. MSS. 34523, f. 180.

³ Wakefield, "Ireland, Statistical and Political," ii. 286.

⁴ "Life of Henry Boyle," 144.

⁵ Gilbert, "History of Dublin," iii. 107; Whiteside, 116.

⁶ *Parl. Reg.*, xi. 155.

1783 to 1800 the "Parliamentary Register" furnishes a report of speeches which is as valuable as the early Hansards.

THE 1782 PARLIAMENT.

Professor Dicey, in his "Law of the Constitution," draws attention to the difference between a parliamentary executive and a non-parliamentary executive. In the former the Legislature appoints and dismisses the Executive, which is usually taken from among the members of the executive body. In the latter the Executive does not receive appointment from the Legislature. The Constitutions of the United States, of France in the time of the Second Republic, of the German Empire, and of Ireland from 1782 to 1800, afford examples of non-parliamentary Executives. Most modern Constitutions—*e.g.*, the British—belong to the parliamentary Executive. It was as difficult for the Irish Parliament after 1782 as before it to exercise control over the Executive, for it neither appointed it nor dismissed it. The English Ministry still appointed the Executive, and it is hard therefore to perceive in practice how "independence" really existed. The one matter certain is that the Constitution possessed, from this standpoint, no element of permanence. Professor Dicey does not go a whit too far when he states that the combination of a sovereign Parliament with a non-parliamentary Executive made it all but certain that Grattan's Constitution must either be greatly modified or come

to an end. This is an aspect of this Constitution which has not received that attention it deserves. The causes leading up to the Union are so dramatic that the change effected by Grattan has never been adequately investigated. It is sufficient to state that in 1783, out of 117 Irish boroughs, only 11 were uncontrolled by their owners in order to see how little influence the voter, even the Protestant voter, possessed.

THE UNION.

The failure to carry the Commercial Propositions, the prosperity of Scotland since 1707, the danger of clashing with the British Parliament—*e.g.*, in the Regency question—and the desire to improve the condition of the Roman Catholics, promoted the policy of the Union. In view of later history it is remarkable to find that the Roman Catholic Bishops were unanimously in favour of the Union, while two Bishops of the Church of Ireland—Dickson of Down and Marlay of Waterford—opposed it. It would not be too much to say that the supporters of the Union are now its bitterest antagonists, whereas the opponents are now the warmest supporters. The valuable Castlereagh Correspondence reveals the fact that Roman Catholic prelates, such as Troy, the Archbishop of Dublin, Moylan of Cork, the Archbishop of Cashel, and Bishop Caulfield, exerted themselves in favour of the 1800 measure, “discreetly” employing their influence with their flocks for

the same purpose.¹ In his "Confederation of Europe"² Professor Alison Phillips has revealed the share taken by Castlereagh in the settlement of Europe; but at present there is no adequate account of his share in the settlement of Ireland. His schemes of representation stand in need of examination. That curious collection of "Documents relating to Ireland, 1795-1804,"³ which Sir J. T. Gilbert edited, affords no help. Indeed, the only valuable matter in it is the extracts from the Pelham Correspondence preserved in the British Museum. For the negotiations leading up to the Union there are 231 volumes in the Record Office, London, covering the period from 1782 to 1829: these letters are of high importance. There are also the Castlereagh Correspondence,⁴ the Cornwallis Correspondence,⁵ the Historical Manuscripts Commission, 13th Report, App., pts. vii. and viii., C. J. Fox's "Memorials and Correspondence,"⁶ the Beresford Correspondence,⁷ and such works as H. Grattan's "Memoirs of the Life and Times of Henry Grattan"⁸ contain material of exceptional worth. Throughout the whole course of the proceedings we possess the invaluable help of Lecky. C. Coote's "History of the Union

¹ Castlereagh Correspondence, ii. 344-348, 352, 370-371, 386-387.

² London, 1914.

³ Dublin, 1893.

⁴ "Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh." London, 1848-53, 12 vols.

⁵ Ed. C. Ross. London, 1859, 3 vols.

⁶ Ed. Lord J. Russell. London, 1853, 4 vols.

⁷ Edited by his grandson. 1854, 2 vols.

⁸ London, 1839-46, 5 vols.

of the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland ”¹ is an old-fashioned work deserving consultation. T. D. Ingram² gathers much information, though he vainly tries to show that the Union was not carried by corruption. It ought to be added that Pitt’s speeches and the debates thereon are of great importance. A pressing need is a book on the Union of the type of the work of A. V. Dicey and R. S. Rait in their “ Thoughts on the Scottish Union.”³

ROMAN CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

The masses of material almost overwhelm the student. From 1745 to 1799 the two volumes of the Charlemont MSS. in the Historical Manuscripts Commission, 12th Report, App., pt. x., and the 13th Report, App., pt. viii., and the Rutland Papers in the 14th Report, App., pt. i., give illuminating points of view: the Rutland Papers concern the end of the eighteenth century. There are the works of Burke,⁴ M. Arnold’s handy volume of “ Edmund Burke on Irish Affairs,”⁵ the “ Correspondence between Pitt and the Duke of Rutland ” (1781-87),⁶ the Beresford Correspondence, H. Grattan’s “ Memoirs,” the “ Proceedings of the Catholic Association from May 13, 1823, to February 11, 1825,”⁷ and, from another point of view, R. B. O’Brien’s edition of “ The Auto-

¹ 1802.

² “ History of the Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland.” London, 1887.

³ London, 1920.

⁴ London, 1886, 6 vols.

⁵ London, 1881.

⁶ London, 1890.

⁷ London, 1825.

biography of Theobald Wolfe Tone.”¹ Along with these contemporary documents the following published works deserve consultation: W. J. Amherst, “History of Catholic Emancipation, etc., 1771-1820 ”;² Gustave de Beaumont, “Ireland, Social, Political, and Religious ”;³ F. Plowden, “Historical Review of the State of Ireland from the Invasion under Henry II. to the Union ”⁴ and his “History of Ireland from its Union with Great Britain, 1801 to 1810 ”;⁵ the Hon. D. Plunket, “Life, Letters, and Speeches of Lord Plunket ”;⁶ R. S. Tighe, “Considerations on the Late and Present State of Ireland ”;⁷ W. J. MacNeven, “Pieces of Irish History illustrative of the Condition of the Catholics of Ireland, of the United Irishmen, etc.”;⁸ J. Milner, “Supplementary Memoirs of the English Catholics ”;⁹ C. S. Parker, “Sir Robert Peel from his Private Papers ”;¹⁰ R. R. Pearce, “Memoirs and Correspondence of the Marquis Wellesley ”;¹¹ Sir R. Peel, “Memoirs published by Earl Stanhope and E. Cardwell ”;¹² Dean Pellew, “Life and Correspondence of the First Viscount Sidmouth ”;¹³ W. W. Seward, “Collectanea Politica ”;¹⁴ the Duke of Wellington, “Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda ”;¹⁵ and T. Wyse,

¹ London, 1893, 2 vols.

³ London, 1839, 2 vols.

⁵ Dublin, 1811, 3 vols.

⁷ Dublin, 1804.

⁹ London, 1820.

¹¹ London, 1846, 3 vols.

¹³ London, 1847, 3 vols.

¹⁵ London, 1871 *ff.*, vols. iv.-vi.

² London, 1886, 2 vols.

⁴ London, 1803, 2 vols in 3.

⁶ London, 1867, 2 vols.

⁸ New York, 1807.

¹⁰ London, 1891-99, 3 vols.

¹² London, 1850, 2 vols.

¹⁴ Dublin, 1803-04, 3 vols.

“Historical Sketch of the Late Catholic Association of Ireland.”¹

Of course, the hero of the agitation is Daniel O’Connell. There are sketches of him in M. F. Cusack, “The Liberator, his Life and Times”;² W. J. O’N. Daunt, “Personal Recollections of Daniel O’Connell”;³ R. Dunlop, “Daniel O’Connell”;⁴ W. Fagan, “Life and Times of Daniel O’Connell”;⁵ W. J. Fitzpatrick, “Correspondence of Daniel O’Connell”;⁶ J. A. Hamilton, “Life of O’Connell”;⁷ J. de La Faye, “O’Connell”;⁸ Lecky, “Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland”;⁹ G. Nemours, “Daniel O’Connell”;⁹ J. O’Connell, “Life and Speeches of Daniel O’Connell, M.P.”;¹⁰ J. R. O’Flanagan, “Bar Life of O’Connell”;¹¹ J. O. Rourke, “The Life of O’Connell”;¹² and G. J. Shaw-Lefevre, “Peel and O’Connell: Irish Policy from the Union to the Death of Peel.”¹³ Lecky’s account is *facile princeps*, and then come the works of Dunlop and Fitzpatrick. Notable as is the labour of the Liberator in securing the franchise for his co-religionists, it is worth while drawing attention to other sides of his activities. Like the law reformers of his day, he was an individualist, more influenced by utilitarian ideas than perhaps he realised. He

¹ London, 1829, 2 vols.

³ London, 1848, 2 vols.

⁵ Cork, 1847-48, 2 vols.

⁷ London, 1888.

⁹ Paris, 1893.

¹¹ London, 1875.

¹³ London, 1887.

² London, 1872.

⁴ London, 1889.

⁶ London, 1888, 2 vols.

⁸ Paris, 1896.

¹⁰ Dublin, 1846, 2 vols.

¹² Dublin, 1875.

advocated universal suffrage, the ballot, and an elective House of Lords. He supported the emancipation of the Jews; the abolition of capital punishment, of the Usury Acts, of flogging in the Army, of taxes on knowledge, of the Game Laws, and of the Corn Laws. This is very remarkable when we remember the nature of the man and of his associates and the age in which he lived.

One of the questions to be solved is, Was the Penal Code directed against the treason of the Roman Catholic or against his faith? It is almost impossible to resist the conclusion that it was the treason which was attacked. The Sovereign felt that England's difficulty was Ireland's opportunity. Elizabeth felt this, and so did James I., Charles I., William III., Anne, and the Georges. In 1662 the Nuncio at Brussels, De Vechiis, had declared that a proposed address by the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, stating their loyalty to their new Sovereign, was a violation of the Roman Catholic faith.¹ Cardinal Barberini and Cardinal Rospigliosi concurred in this condemnation.² In 1647 Cardinal Pamphili, the Pope's Secretary of State, had written to Rinuccini: "The Holy See never can by any positive act approve of the civil allegiance of Catholic subjects to an heretical prince. . . . It had been the constant and uninterrupted practice of the Holy See never to allow its ministers to make or consent to any public edict

¹ Throckmorton, "Letters to the Catholic Clergy," 154.

² "Ad præstantes viros Hiberniæ," Walsh, 17.

of Catholic subjects for the defence of the crown and person of an heretical prince.”¹

The dominant feeling of the seventeenth and a large part of the eighteenth centuries was that the gravest heresy of the Roman Catholic Church was the claim it put forth to hold a political supremacy over all princes and potentates. Its erroneous doctrines, its corrupt practices, were but as dust in the balance compared with its claim to use the deposing power. If the reader scans any pamphlet in defence of royal rights he is sure, before he turns over many leaves, to see a reference to the Pope or his supporter, the great Cardinal Bellarmine. The generation that revolted against the rule of James II. had been trained to look upon the Pope as the head of an alien jurisdiction menacing the real independence of the country. There was, moreover, ample opportunity for men to hear such views. The 30th of January and the 5th of November were to the clergy suitable occasions for inveighing against papal interference in the life of the State.

Lord Acton has pointed out that the Huguenots were persecuted not in the least in the interests of the Roman Catholic religion, but purely and simply in those of the more modern doctrine of State uniformity. This is stating the case too strongly. It is, however, quite a true statement if for the words “purely and simply” we substitute the word “mainly.” The Irish penal laws

¹ Carte, “Ormond,” i. 578.

are another case in point. Roman Catholics, Archbishop King held, must not be oppressed, but because of their political views they must be kept in subjection. They cannot hold any office, for they might betray their trust to the Pope. Personal liberty they must possess, he maintains in a thesis; political liberty they must not possess. Since they refused to give guarantees of their loyalty, they were properly excluded from the full benefits of citizenship. Out of a list of 1,080 Roman Catholic clergy, only 30 abjured the Pretender. It is significant that when Archbishop King finds in his diocese worthy Roman Catholics, he asks the rector of the parish in which they dwell to see that they are not overburdened. The Protestant squire may hold the property of such in his own name but for their benefit, and he censures severely a landlord who in such a position of trust employed the land for his own purposes.

These tolerant actions were in no wise confined to men like King. Rulers like Lord Sidney tried to put them into force, too. A State paper on the Popish clergy of Ireland, in the year 1697, affords the strongest evidence in this matter.¹ The list enumerates 838 secular clergy and 389 regular; there are three Bishops—one in Cork, one in Galway, and one in Waterford. Of course the existence of these Bishops is winked at, not legally permitted. It is self-evident that if England had persecuted Roman Catholics *qua* Roman Catholics the clearest

¹ Addit. MSS. 17406.

way to end the days of the Church in Ireland was to achieve what Louis XIV. achieved, and that was to allow no Bishops to remain there to exercise their functions. If there was no Bishop there could be no ordination in the country, if there was no ordination there could be no priest other than a mission priest. That the penal laws were not due to merely theological antipathies is the conclusion to which one is forced by a careful study of contemporary evidence. There is evidence converging from all sides that Roman Catholicism was hampered because it was political, and this conclusive evidence comes from sermon and address, tract and pamphlet, newspaper and broadsheet, book and treatise; it above all comes from private correspondence and State paper. These letters were meant for the friend who read them, the papers for the men who ruled the land; they were not meant for the public at large, and we may reasonably infer that they exhibit on the whole the true motives governing the men who penned them.

ORIGINAL SOURCES.

In the Record Office, London, there are Letters and Papers, 1714-81, 129 volumes; Correspondence, 1782-1829, 231 volumes; Entry Books, 1776-1829, 6 volumes; Military matters, 1768-1829, 5 volumes; Disturbances, 1803-05, 1 volume; Miscellaneous, 1803-05, 1 volume; Register of Correspondence, 1781-1801, 6 volumes; Secret (Roman

Catholics, Dissenters, Tithes), 1800-04, 1 volume; the Report of the House of Lords Committee, 1798, 2 volumes; Letter Books, 1782-1829, 14 volumes; Irish Letter Books, 1714-1829, 18 volumes; and there is an index to the Letter Books, 1714-1815, 4 volumes. There are also Colonel Blaquiere's Registers, 1772-76, 2 volumes; Dublin Petitions, 1781, 2 volumes; the Secretary's Letter Book, August, 1714-83, 13 volumes; and Warrants, 1714-16, 7 volumes. The Correspondence from 1782 to 1829 includes civil, military, miscellaneous, private and secret, letters and papers, Roman Catholic Emancipation, peerage claims, and reports of outrages.

The British Museum contains the correspondence of Edward Southwell with Dr. Marmaduke Coghill.¹ There are other Southwell letters in the Record Office, Dublin,² and in Trinity College, Dublin. In the British Museum there are also the extremely valuable Newcastle Correspondence,³ which yields information on the period from 1724 to 1767, and the Pelham Correspondence.⁴

THE REIGNS OF GEORGE I. AND GEORGE II.

Mr. Elrington Ball has given us a noble edition of the correspondence of Swift, and it helps to eke out the scanty records of these two reigns.⁵ Sir

¹ Addit. MSS. 21122-3.

² The 30th Rep. of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records in Ireland, App. i., pp. 44-58. This is a poor report.

³ Addit. MSS. 32687-32738.

⁴ Addit. MSS. 33100-05.

⁵ London, 1910-14, 6 vols.

Walter Scott edited his works,¹ and the Drapier Letters and the Historical and Political Tracts bearing on Ireland excite grim attention. On the controversy about Wood's halfpence the report of Sir Isaac Newton in the Portsmouth MSS.² requires to be examined. Mr. Temple Scott has edited the prose works of Swift, and his sixth and seventh volumes contain the bulk of the matter interesting to the student.³ Lecky's illuminating study of the Dean is prefixed to this edition. In "Ireland in the Days of Dean Swift (1720-34)"⁴ J. Bowles Daly collected the tracts referring to the condition of Ireland. R. A. King wrote a one-sided account of "Swift in Ireland."⁵ There are, of course, the well-known biographies of J. Churton Collins,⁶ Sir H. Craik,⁷ and Sir L. Stephen.⁸ Bishop George Berkeley, one of the purest souls of the eighteenth century, wrote a piercing survey of the state of Ireland in his "Querist, containing several Queries proposed to the Consideration of the Public. . . . To which is added, a Word to the Wise; or, an Exhortation to the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland."⁹ The social, political, and economic condition of the country all receive adequate notice. Mr. A. C. Fraser has given us an able biography of this great Bishop of Cloyne.¹⁰

Irish history from 1691 to 1714 has not been

¹ Vols. vi. and vii., London, 1883.

² Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep., viii., pp. 73 ff.

³ London, 1903-05.

⁴ London, 1887.

⁵ London, 1895.

⁶ London, 1893.

⁷ London, 1885, 2 vols.

⁸ London, 1882.

⁹ Oxford, 1871.

¹⁰ Edinburgh, 1881

explored in a satisfactory fashion. The reign of Queen Anne has not been properly studied. No doubt Swift has been the subject of attention from the biographer, the *littérateur*, and the historian. There comes a blank in our history from the death of the Dean to the rise of Grattan—that is, the blank extends throughout the whole reign of George II. and the first twenty years of his successor. Unless Lecky is carefully read it is scarcely perceived that his “History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century” really resolves itself into a survey, complete and satisfactory, of the period from 1780 to 1800. “There may possibly be,” he confesses, “unpublished family papers in Ireland that would throw a clear light on this period (*i.e.* before 1780) and on the characters of its chief men; but the accessible materials are so scanty that it is impossible with any confidence to give more than a bare outline of the history.” The Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports contain information of the nature Lecky required, and this information remains unused. The Puleston MSS. relate to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹ The Willes letters and observations cover the period 1757–62.² The Howard MSS. eke out the “Parliamentary History of Ireland, 1715–73.”³ The first volume⁴ of the Emly MSS. yields us information on the Speakership of E. S. Pery, 1771–85, though the second

¹ 2nd Report, pp. 67–8; 15th Report, App. vii., pp. 307–43.

² 2nd Report, p. 103.

³ 3rd Report, pp. 432–434.

⁴ 8th Report, pp. 174–208.

volume¹ covers the well-known time 1780-98. The O'Connor MSS. furnish welcome information on the working of the penal laws and other matters, 1756-69.² The notable Stopford-Sackville MSS. cover the years 1731-82.³ The two volumes of the Charlemont MSS. go from 1745 to 1799:⁴ F. Hardy's "Memoirs of James Caulfield, Earl of Charlemont,"⁵ deserves consultation. The Donoughmore MSS.⁶ tell us much about affairs in general and about those of J. Hely Hutchinson in particular, 1761-94. The Clements MSS.⁷ begin in 1625 and end in 1759, and the Eyre Matcham MSS.⁸ concern the years 1725-62.

In spite of all these additions, there is much that is still obscure. It is hard to understand the controversy over the Money Bill of 1753. Here the Stopford-Sackville letters and those of Speaker Pery are of much assistance. But far the greatest light is shed by the confidential correspondence between Archbishop Stone and the Duke of Newcastle, preserved in the British Museum. Stone was Primate of all Ireland from 1747 to 1765. He is, however, more noteworthy as a statesman than as a prelate. During the ministries of Pelham and Newcastle he was the chief agent of the English administration. Viceroys in those days did not

¹ 14th Report, App. ix. pp. 155-199.

² 8th Report, pp. 441-492.

³ 9th Report, pt. 3, pp. 34-67.

⁴ 12th Report, App. x.; 13th Report, App. viii.

⁵ London, 1812, 2 vols.

⁶ 12th Report, App. ix., pp. 227-333.

⁷ Vol. viii. (1913), pp. 196-568.

⁸ Vol. vi. (1909).

reside regularly, and George Stone filled the first place in the commission of lords justices during the absence of the viceroys. It was no nominal honour paid to his outstanding position. The Viceroy spent a few months of every second year in Ireland, while Stone was always there. Though Stone fell from power during the administration of the Duke of Devonshire, yet it is true to say that he was the real governor of the country from 1747 to his death in 1764. He was nine times appointed Lord Justice. The Duke of Newcastle had befriended him, raising him to the Primacy. He repaid this advancement by the light and leading which he so freely bestowed on the Duke in the intimacy of private correspondence never meant to be seen by any other eyes save those of Newcastle. During the reign of George II. there is no information so precious as that yielded by Stone's letters. In the frankest fashion they discuss the men and the measures of the Irish Parliament, and they indicate pretty plainly the way in which Poynings' Law enabled men like Newcastle and Stone to control the course of business in the Irish Parliament. Stone's letters and the Duke's answers enable us to grasp the nature of the first agitation which passed over Irish legislative life in the eighteenth century, the trouble ensuing on the Money Bill in the time of the administration of the Duke of Dorset. It is easier to understand the triumphs of Flood and Grattan when we grasp the nature of the agitation of 1753. Primate Stone's letters

range from 1746 to 1761 and C. Litton Falkiner has printed those written from 1752 to 1758.¹ He also gives some letters of the Archbishop to his brother Andrew, the confidential secretary of Newcastle, and some extracts from the correspondence of the Duke of Dorset and his son, Lord George Sackville, and these extracts relate to the matters with which the letters of the Primate deal.

There are, then, fresh clues to the understanding of parliamentary life. It is not so easy to grasp the social and economic life. Here the "Life of Philip Skelton"² by S. Burdy is well worth attention. It gives an artless and extremely sincere account of a clergyman who, in his way, displayed the virtues of Christianity just as effectively as Bishop Berkeley. Skelton's theology belongs to his own age: his character and his life of self-denial belong to all the ages. That enthusiastic Irish historian, Dr. G. T. Stokes, edited Dr. R. Pococke's "Tour in Ireland in 1752."³ Pococke set out from Dublin, went to the Giant's Causeway, exploring the wilds of Donegal, and penetrating to Erris, Achill, and Belmullet. He has much to say about the condition of the Roman Catholics in Connaught, and he notes the effects of the legislation of Oliver Cromwell. He met members of such well-known families as Boyd, Brown, Bury, Hamilton, O'Donnel, Nunn, Palliser, Pepper, Shaw Taylor, and Stewart. As the editor points out,

¹ The *E. H. R.*, July, 1905, pp. 508-542; October, 1905, pp. 735-763.

² Oxford, 1914.

³ London, 1891.

Pococke was interested in the manners and customs, the state of civilisation, the operation of the penal laws and of the charter school system, the names and emoluments of the clergy, the condition of trade, commerce, and manufactures, the rent of lands and houses, the state of architecture in country parts, and the botany, zoology, and geology of all the districts he visited. Lady Hanover edited "The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany."¹ The three volumes aim at describing the life of people in good society, and the result is an amusing book which, from a far different standpoint, supplements Pococke's "Tour."

Though not strictly pertinent here, we mention other books which enable us to understand the life of the people at the end of the eighteenth century. Mary Leadbeater, a member of the Society of Friends, brought out interesting notes of everyday life in the village of Ballitore, co. Kildare.² There are letters of Edmund Burke in it, and there is the correspondence of Mrs. R. Trench and George Crabbe with Mary Leadbeater. Vol. I. records the annals of Ballitore—it was occupied in 1798 both by the rebels and the loyalists—and Vol. II. gives the letters. De Latocnaye wrote his experiences as "Un Français en Irlande."³ He visited the country in 1796-97. Of course, there

¹ London, 1861-62.

² "The Leadbeater Papers." London, 1862.

³ Dublin, 1797. There is an Irish edition, Cork, 1798, and one by J. Stevenson, Dublin, 1917.

is the excellent account Arthur Young furnished in his invaluable "Tour in Ireland, 1776-79."¹ Lord John Russell edited the "Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore,"² and they provide an entertaining picture of life in the metropolis at the end of the eighteenth century. J. E. Walsh³ was Master of the Rolls, and he supplements admirably the account which Thomas Moore gives. All the books of Sir Jonah Barrington are still worth reading. "The Personal Recollections of his own Times"⁴ are intensely amusing, though they require to be read with caution. Certainly he and the novels of Charles Lever hit off the careless and reckless customs of the landed gentry when they become prosperous under the working of Foster's Corn Law.

There is some information on the Irish at home, but there is still little on them abroad. Many emigrated to France, to Spain, and to Austria, in order to escape from the penal laws. How many went away? The estimates of J. C. O'Callaghan in his "History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France"⁵ cannot be accepted. There is room for books of the type of T. A. Fischer's "The Scots in Germany"⁶ and "The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia."⁷ In these two books we have exact references to documents and

¹ Dublin, 1880, 2 vols. Edited, with notes and a bibliography, by A. W. Hutton and J. P. Anderson. London, 1892, 2 vols.

² London, 1853, vol. i.

³ "Sketches of Ireland Sixty Years Ago." Dublin, 1847.

⁴ London, 1827-32, 3 vols.

⁵ Dublin, 1854.

⁶ Edinburgh, 1902.

⁷ Edinburgh, 1903.

to the volumes which the learned author employs. The investigation of the Irish abroad in Europe and in America calls for students: there is ample material. There is some personal information in Mrs. O'Connell's "The Last Colonel of the Irish Brigade, Count O'Connell, and the old Irish at Home and Abroad, 1743-1833."¹ Mention ought to be made of M. O'Connor's "Military History of the Irish Nation."²

THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.

On this reign the publications of the Historical Manuscripts Commission are of the utmost weight. We have the miscellaneous papers in the Lansdowne collection, *c.* 1782-*c.* 1798;³ the Carlisle MSS., referring to the end of the eighteenth century;⁴ the P. V. Smith MSS., 1783-1806;⁵ the Fortescue MSS., concerning the time when Temple was Lord-Lieutenant in 1782-83 and Buckinghamshire was Lord-Lieutenant in 1787-89, and giving the lively letters of Lord Mornington, 1784-85;⁶ the Kenyon MSS.⁷ and the Rutland MSS.,⁸ both dealing with the end of the eighteenth century; and the Knox MSS.,⁹ for the closing years of this period.

Lecky is of the highest value from 1780 to 1800. It is as hard to overpraise him for the last quarter of the eighteenth century as it is to overpraise Gardiner

¹ London, 1892, 2 vols. ² Dublin, 1845. ³ 6th Report, p. 236.

⁴ 15th Report, App. vi. ⁵ 12th Report, App. ix., pp. 343-74.

⁶ 13th Report, App. viii., 3.

⁷ 14th Report, App. iv.

⁸ 14th Report, App. iii.

⁹ Vol. vi. (1909).

or Bagwell for the first half of the seventeenth. Froude continues his brilliant and biased account, yet an account founded on the use of first-hand evidence. T. D. Ingram's "Critical Examination of Irish History"¹ performs highly useful work. C. Litton Falkiner writes eight graphic sketches of the Grattan Parliament and Ulster, the Earl-Bishop of Derry (*i.e.*, the Earl of Bristol), Lord Clare, Castlereagh, and Ireland in 1798, Plunket and Roman Catholic emancipation, Sir Boyle Roche, Thomas Steele (the henchman of Daniel O'Connell), and the French invasion of Ireland in 1798.² The studies are all based on the original sources, and it is the most brilliant book Falkiner wrote.

The relations of statesmen like the Earl of Shelburne and Pitt were so closely connected with Irish affairs that their biographies must be read. On the former there is the fine study of Lord Fitzmaurice,³ while on the latter there are the works of Earl Stanhope,⁴ Lord Rosebery,⁵ Lord Ashbourne,⁶ and J. Holland Rose.⁷ Of course, as a general remark it ought to be said that all Lives of statesmen concerned with the course of affairs in Ireland ought to be read.

Lecky's "Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland" was published anonymously in 1861, when he was

¹ London, 1900, 2 vols.

² "Studies in Irish History." London, 1902.

³ "Life of the Earl of Shelburne." London, 1912, 2 vols.

⁴ "Life of William Pitt." London, 1862, 4 vols.

⁵ "Life of Pitt." London, 1891.

⁶ "Pitt: Some Chapters of his Life and Times." London, 1898.

⁷ "William Pitt." London, 1911, 2 vols.

only twenty-three. There was little demand for it, and it is discreditable to think that, to use the author's own words, "it fell absolutely dead."¹ Mr. O'Neill Daunt wrote a kindly review of it in a Cork newspaper: less than a dozen copies were sold. Had not Lecky been a man with private means, it is probable that he would have ceased to produce any historical work. Fortunately, like Darwin, he was able to hold on. In 1871 he revised his "Leaders," and in 1903 he published another edition which employed the confidential correspondence of the Government, preserved in the Record Office, Dublin. In this edition he looks with kindly eyes on the motives not only of Pitt and Cornwallis, but on those of Castlereagh. He is just in his account of Pitt as a parliamentary reformer, maintaining his sincerity in this matter, and allows the wisdom and the liberality of the Commercial Propositions. He also brings out the point that the opposition to the amelioration of the Roman Catholics proceeded from the Irish Government, not from the English. He covers the material employed by Lord Rosebery and Lord Ashbourne in their defence of Pitt on the question of the recall of Fitzwilliam. He is not convinced by these "very able biographers and panegyrists of Pitt." The recall of Fitzwilliam is an episode of which the importance has been grossly exaggerated. In the light of after events,

¹ Mrs. Lecky, "A Memoir of W. E. H. Lecky," p. 26. This is an admirable biography.

it is true that Fitzwilliam's policy was liberal, if bold. Fitzwilliam allowed himself to occupy a false position, and he did not carry out the instructions he received: perhaps, indeed, he could not. Lecky holds that the United Irishmen and the rebellion of 1798 killed the Irish Parliament. Now, the United Irishmen were well organised, waiting for a suitable opportunity, when Fitzwilliam was recalled. It is a thousand pities that Pitt was not able to complete the policy of amelioration which he contemplated on the eve of the Union. George III. took the matter out of his hands as O'Connell took it out of the hands of Grattan. In his "Secret Service under Pitt"¹ W. J. Fitzpatrick adds to the material accumulating for a history of the United Irish movement. In his valuable account the author sets forth the completeness and the accuracy of the information possessed by the Government concerning the designs of the United Irishmen. An initial or an alias was all that was known even in the secret correspondence in Dublin Castle of the most useful of all the agents. "Lord Downshire's friend" demanded that his name should not be furnished to the Cabinet, and his demand was complied with: his name was Samuel Turner, alias Furnes, alias Richardson. There is light on much else, for *inter alia* Fitzpatrick tells us why Humbert's expedition landed in Killala, not in Belfast.

¹ London, 1892.

THE REBELLION OF 1798.

The biographies of two distinguished generals are helpful in the understanding of this Rebellion. Lord Dunfermline wrote the story of his father, "Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercromby, 1793-1801":¹ he commanded the troops in Ireland from December, 1797, to April, 1798, and was so dissatisfied with the course of events that he resigned his command. Major-General Sir. J. F. Maurice edits **"The Diary of Sir John Moore"*:² he was Colonel in command fighting the rebels. The widow of Miles Byrne compiled his **"Memoirs,"*³ recording his work as an organiser of the insurrection. After the fiasco of the Emmet rising he escaped to France, serving with the legions of Napoleon. Thomas Cloney wrote **"A Personal Narrative of those Transactions in the County of Wexford, in which the Author was Engaged."*⁴ J. Bowles Daly sketches the principal characters of "Ireland in '98."⁵ W. J. Fitzpatrick wrote the valuable accounts of "The Sham Squire (Francis Higgins) and the Informers of 1798"⁶ and a sequel to it, "Ireland before the Union."⁷ The Rev. J. Gordon wrote a very temperate **"History of the Rebellion in Ireland."*⁸ The humane E. Hay described the **"History of the Insurrection of the County of Wexford."*⁹ Joseph

¹ Edinburgh, 1861.

² London, 1904, 2 vols.: vol. i., pp. 268-332.

³ Dublin, 1906-07, ed. S. Gwynn.

⁴ Dublin, 1832.

⁵ London, 1888.

⁶ Dublin, 1866.

⁷ Dublin, 1867.

⁸ London, 1803.

⁹ Dublin, 1803.

* All the accounts asterisked are contemporary.

Holt wrote impressive **"Memoirs"*: he was a general of the rebels. The Rev. P. F. Kavanagh sympathises with the insurrectionists in his **"Popular History of the Insurrection of 1798."*^{1a} T. MacNeven outlines **"The Lives and Trials of Archibald Hamilton Rowan, the Rev. William Jackson, the Defenders, William Orr, Peter Finerty, etc."*² R. R. Madden wrote an exhaustive account of *"The United Irishmen"*:³ there are considerable differences between the first and second editions. In order to counteract the effects of Madden's labours the Rev. W. H. Maxwell described the *"History of the Irish Rebellion."*⁴ Another work of the same class as Maxwell's is Sir R. Musgrave's **"Memoirs of the Different Rebellions in Ireland."*⁵ F. W. Palliser wrote a poor book, *"The Irish Rebellion of 1798."*⁶ T. Reynolds wrote an interesting *autobiography.⁷ G. Taylor outlined a capable **"History of the Rise, Progress, and Suppression of Rebellion in the County of Wexford."*⁸ C. H. Teeling's **"History of the Irish Rebellion of 1798"* helps us to understand the feeling in Ulster.⁹ Mr. G. F. Handcock gave the **"Reminiscences of a Loyalist in 1798"* (in Wexford).¹⁰ Light on the conditions of the time is thrown in M. MacDonagh's *"Viceroy's Post Bag,"*¹¹ which publishes the correspondence of the Earl of Hardwicke, the first Lord-Lieutenant after the Union.

¹ London, 1838.^{1a} Dublin, 1884.² Dublin, 1846.³ London, 1842-60.⁴ London, 1891.⁵ Dublin, 1801.⁶ London, 1898.⁷ London, 1839.⁸ Dublin, 1800.⁹ Glasgow, 1876.¹⁰ E. H. R., vol. i., 536 ff.¹¹ London, 1904.

* All the accounts asterisked are contemporary.

THE FRENCH INVASIONS.

T. C. Crofton's edition of "Popular Songs"¹ enables us to see the attitude of the people. H. Joy edits "Belfast Politics,"² which performs the same function for the north. Bishop Stock's "Narrative of what passed at Killala"³ is most lively. The Russian V. Gribayedoff picturesquely describes "The French Invasion."⁴ L. O. Fontaine gives a "Notice historique de la descente des Français en Irlande."⁵ E. Guillon describes "La France et l'Irlande pendant la Révolution. Hoche et Humbert."⁶ G. Escande notes "Hoche en Irlande, 1795-98, d'après des documents inédits; lettres de Hoche, délibérations secrètes du Directoire, mémoires secrets de Wolfe Tone."⁷ There are masses of documents in "The Spencer Papers, 1794-1801,"⁸ edited by Sir J. S. Corbett and in "1793-1805. Projets et tentatives de Debarquement aux Îles Britanniques," edited by É. Desbrière."⁹ A. Sorel describes "Bonaparte et Hoche, en 1797"¹⁰ with all his wonted power.

THE ECONOMIC CONDITION.

Among the older books there are R. V. Clarendon, "Revenue and Finances of Ireland";¹¹ J. H. Hutchinson, "Commercial Restraints of Ireland"; D. Macpherson, "Annals of Commerce";¹² T.

¹ London, 1845-47.

³ London, 1800.

⁵ Paris, 1801.

⁶ Paris, 1888.

⁸ London, 1913.

⁹ Paris, 1900-02.

¹¹ London, 1791.

² Belfast, 1794.

⁴ New York, 1901.

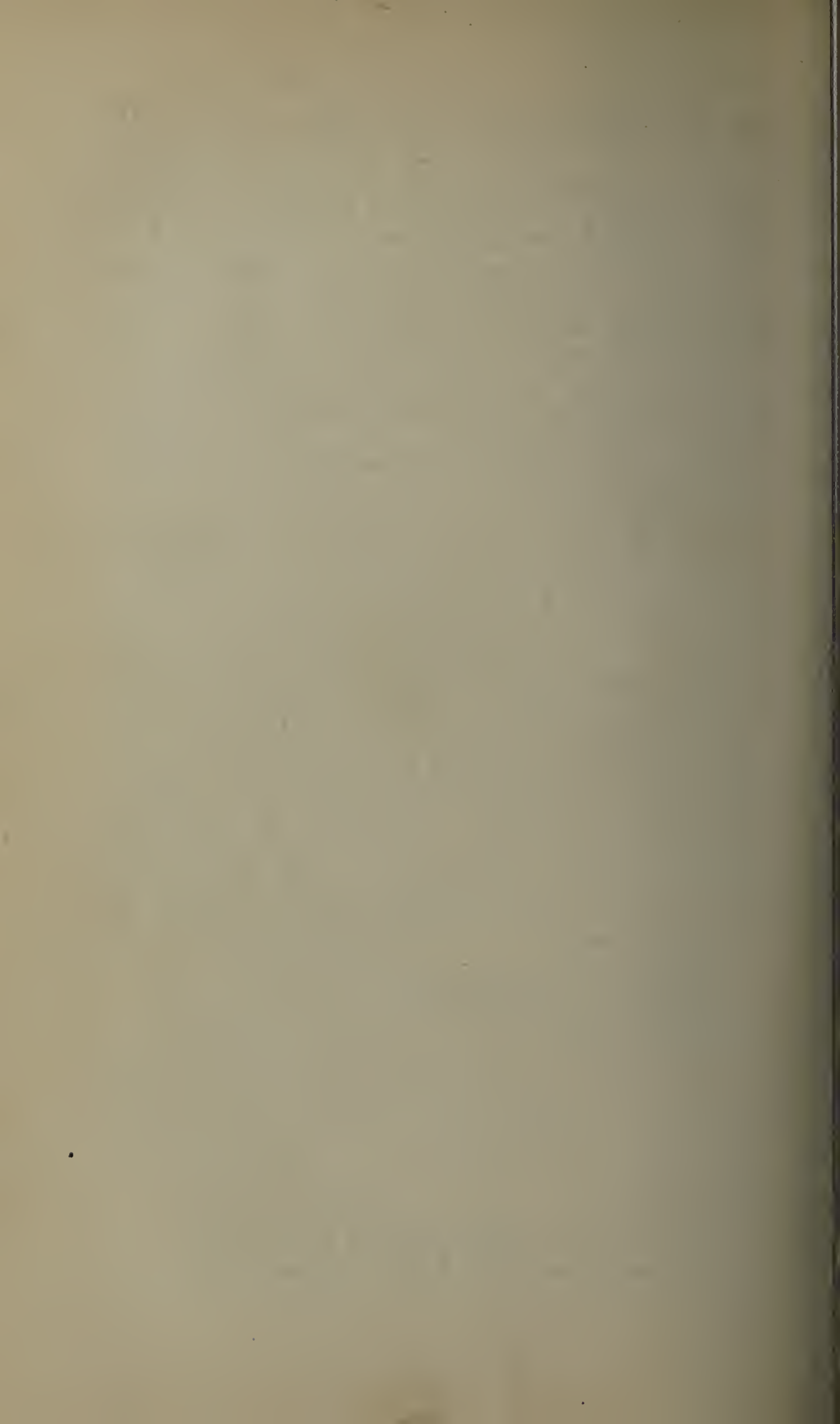
⁷ Paris, 1888.

¹⁰ Paris, 1896.

¹² London, 1805.

Newenham, "A View of the Natural, Political, and Commercial Circumstances of Ireland";¹ G. L. Smyth, "Ireland, Historical and Statistical";² E. Wakefield, "Account of Ireland, Statistical³ and Political";⁴ and Sir G. Nicholls, "History of the Irish Poor Law."⁵ All that ever came from the pen of J. E. Cairnes is powerful, and his "Political Essays" deserve repeated perusal. In them he discusses the agricultural revolution, the emigration, the Irish cottier, and Irish landlordism. Mr. D. A. Chart analyses with ability the social, economic, and administrative conditions of "Ireland from the Union to Catholic Emancipation."⁶ Of course Miss Murray's work deserves attention for this period. Mr. H. F. Berry patiently investigates the "History of the Royal Dublin Society,"⁷ a volume due to that lifelong patriot, the late Lord Ardilaun, whose munificence accomplished so much for Dublin and for Ireland. Lastly, Mr. G. O'Brien has given us a clear account of "The Economic History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century."⁸

¹ London, 1804.² London, 1844.³ London, 1812.⁴ London, 1856.⁵ Pp. 109-199. London, 1873.⁶ London, 1910.⁷ London, 1915.⁸ London, 1918.



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COINS AND MEDALS

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COINS AND MEDALS

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KEEPER OF COINS AND MEDALS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

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COINS AND MEDALS

I

FROM the time of its invention, in the eighth century B.C., down to the present day, coinage—that is to say, metallic currency—supplies to the student of history evidence of different kinds and of varying value. The earlier the period the more useful, in one way, we may expect to find the coins, for the simple reason that other contemporary records are scarcer than in a later age. The coins may, indeed, be the sole evidence bearing on the question under consideration. On the other hand, on account of this very scarcity of contemporary materials for comparison, the farther back we go the more difficult it becomes to interpret the coins themselves, to date them, to say where or by whom they were issued, to explain the meaning of their types. The study of numismatics does not fall behind any other branch of historical research in its demand for caution and clearness of judgment. Indeed, owing to the long and continuous series of documents with which it deals, affording numerous parallels between developments in dif-

ferent States and at different periods, it has been claimed that as a training-ground for the critical faculty it surpasses every other branch of archæology. It cannot, however, be denied that the school has produced its due proportion of failures in this respect, especially in the domain of metrology, reminding us of the truism that, excellent as training may be, it cannot develop a critical faculty which does not exist in the student.

With this warning of the possibly defective presentation and interpretation of the evidence, we may proceed to describe, briefly, the chief categories into which that evidence may be divided; after which, in a pamphlet like this, all that can be done is to supply a select bibliography.

As the official product of a department of State, coins by their very existence bear witness to a political organization of some kind. Even the private currencies which at some periods preceded or even overlapped the stage in which coinage became the prerogative of the State, as in the American colonies, throw a sidelight on the economic condition of the country. So, too, the enormous quantities of halfpenny and farthing tokens issued in brass in the names of individuals and towns in seventeenth-century England give a vivid suggestion of the difficulties suffered by the lower classes which they were intended to remedy; and the shortage of currency in the last years of the

eighteenth century, and down to the end of the Napoleonic wars, is illustrated, not merely by the official issues of Spanish dollars countermarked with the head of George III., and of the silver tokens of the Banks of England and Ireland, but also by the innumerable tokens, sometimes of silver, but more often of copper, representing towns or firms or individuals, and by the bewildering "medley halfpence"—imitations of the regal coinage, with fantastic inscriptions. But these forms of currency illustrate what we already know from other sources, rather than supply new facts. There are coins or groups of coins which afford the sole evidence for the existence of cities or federal organizations, or reveal the names and dates of rulers otherwise unknown. Silerae, a Sicilian town, which issued bronze coins in the time of Timoleon, is not mentioned by any ancient authors. Atusia, on the Tigris, another unknown Greek town, is represented by a unique bronze piece of about 100 B.C., on which, it is true, the reading of the town-name is not quite certain (Atumia being also possible). And when we realize that there are coins of the fourth century B.C. bearing the name of Autocana, it is seen that the attempts of Homeric critics to emend away the mention of the Mountain of Autocane in the "Hymn to Apollo" are unnecessary. Obviously, places which have left so slight a trace cannot have had

much history. Of more importance is such a record as that provided by a group of coins struck by Rhodes, Cnidus, Iasus, Samos, Ephesus, and Byzantium, soon after 394 B.C., when Conon expelled the Spartan oligarchies from many of the towns on the Asiatic coast. The places mentioned formed an alliance, and struck alliance coins of uniform special weight, with their own devices on the one side and, on the other, the infant Heracles strangling the serpents—emblem of the birth of a new democracy. No authors mention this league, which must have lasted for at least five years, since Byzantium did not expel her oligarchs until 389. The coinages of federations of which we know something from literary sources often add numerous details to our information. Strabo tells us that the Lycian League comprised twenty-three towns; the coins give us the names of twenty or more, and add the information that most of them were grouped in one or other of two districts—Cragus and Masicytes. Old Smyrna was destroyed by the Lydian Alyattes about 585 B.C., and was not known to have been restored until after the time of Alexander the Great. Yet that an attempt was made to restore it soon after 400 B.C. has been proved by the discovery of a fine coin of that period bearing its name. When we come to regal coinages, whole series of kings are sometimes recorded by their coins alone. The coins are the basis of such history

as it has been possible to construct of the Greek kingdoms of Bactria and N.W. India. Were it not for their evidence, we should have supposed that the results of Alexander's expedition to India were quite ephemeral, instead of lasting, as they did, for generations, and laying the foundation of that Greek influence on Indian art, the development of which scholars are now painfully disentangling. The "Western Satraps," who ruled over Surāṣṭra and Mālwa from early in the second until the end of the fourth century of our era, are represented by a long series of coins which enable us to establish the sequence of the dynasty with great accuracy. When coins are dated, as are many of those struck by the Seleucid dynasty in Syria, they afford most valuable chronological data, not merely of the length of reigns, but frequently of the swaying fortunes of war, as indicated by the use of local mints. The history of the Danubian campaigns of Marcus Aurelius from 166 to 180 has been amplified and corrected in many details by a careful study of the coins; it appears, for instance, that the battle with which the story of the "Thundering Legion" is connected took place in 173 rather than in 174. The coins of Roman Bithynia not only give us the names of some of the proconsuls who governed it, but help to establish the curious fact that, side by side with the regular administrative officers, the emperor had special procurators en-

trusted with important military and diplomatic functions. A good instance of the way in which coins may confirm the details of history is provided by a unique penny of Ecgbearht, calling him "Rex M(erciorum)" and bearing the name of London, combined with another unique penny of the same king bearing the name of Redmund, a moneyer who worked for the Mercian king Wiglaf. These two coins between them verify the statement of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* that Ecgbearht defeated Wiglaf in 827 and held the kingdom of the Mercians until the next year. In the same century the obscure history of East Anglia is enriched by the coins with the names of three, perhaps four, kings: Eadwald, Aethelstan I., Aethelweard, and Beorhtric. The argument from the non-existence of coins has also sometimes been effectively used, as, for instance, to illustrate the policy of Athens during the period of the First Confederacy, when the mints of many cities among the Allies appear to have been closed; but it is a dangerous argument, since a chance discovery may at any time bring to light coins of a period hitherto supposed to have lacked them. That is one of the two cautions which experience particularly imposes on the student; the other being that it is best not to draw conclusions from a single coin (especially if it is imperfectly preserved) without ascertaining whether they are supported by the rest of its class.

It is obvious, as was remarked at the beginning, that the coinage of a country must throw some light, however uncertain, upon its economic condition. The questions of the alterations of standards of weight and fineness, and of the relations between the metals, are perhaps the most difficult in numismatics; unfortunately the combination of economic with numismatic scholarship is excessively rare. The derivation of coin standards, in particular, is a subject on which the amount of wild speculation is notorious. The student will do well to use this kind of evidence cautiously, and only in its broadest bearing. We know too little of the reasons which dictated the changes of standards in antiquity to base theories of trade relations or political influences on them. We may be able to establish from the actual weights of coins the fact that Athens, when in the sixth century she introduced her currency of "owls," adopted a rather higher standard than had prevailed among her neighbours in Euboea and Corinth before; but what was the reason, whether a change in the relation between gold and silver, or some convenience of trade with another country, is matter for speculation. Identity of standard in different States may sometimes perhaps indicate commercial and economic relations between them. Thus, for instance, it seems clear that Euboea, Athens, and Corinth, using the same standard, and driving as it were a

lane between the northern and southern parts of the mainland of Greece, where another standard prevailed, must have been in close touch with each other commercially, lying as they did on the trade-route which passed from Asia across the Isthmus to Sicily. But to jump to the conclusion that everywhere identity of coin standards proves the existence of economic connexions were rash in the extreme. Good metal travels far, and the routes taken by coins may serve to map currents of trade, though we should be careful not to regard them as indicating direct relations between the countries concerned. In the time of Maria Theresa the dollar bearing the date 1780 became popular in Abyssinia and Arabia; it has ever since been minted in large quantities and exported to those countries; but it would be a mistake to regard it as evidence of direct trade relations between them and Austria. As a matter of fact, such dollars were supplied in large quantities to Great Britain for her Abyssinian campaign. Athenian coins found their way in the fourth century B.C. into Arabia, not necessarily carried by Athenian traders, but through Southern Palestine or Egypt, and formed the basis on which in the third century an imitative coinage was set up. Clearly there was—as might otherwise have been expected—a set of trade in this direction, and it is interesting to note how the new style of coinage introduced in Athens at the end of the third

century made its mark on the Arabian, and how that influence was again modified by Roman coins in the first century B.C. Still farther east, the large finds of Roman coins of the Early Empire in India show the importance of the trade with that country. Coins dating from the beginning of the Empire to the middle of the third century are found in India in some quantities. Then there is a cessation, until we come to the coins of the end of the fourth century, which occur in numbers. Are we to assume from this that the trade slackened in the interval? Whatever the answer, it will doubtless be affected by the fact that the period not represented in Indian hoards is precisely the time of the greatest degradation of the Roman silver coinage and of the greatest scarcity of Roman gold.

We may mention a few more examples showing the use that can be made of the testimony of coins in regard to trade. Arab historians inform us that there was in the Middle Ages a brisk trade between the Arabs and the Baltic lands, chiefly in furs. As a result, Arab coins made their way north, and huge hoards have been found in Northern Germany, Russia, and Scandinavia. But no gold coins appear in these hoards; any that did go northwards were doubtless melted down and made into ornaments, because the Baltic nations had no gold currency. So far, the coins are evi-

dence of trade. But similar coins have been found in Iceland, Scotland, and England. These latter are no proof of trade with Arab lands; it is clear that they were brought by the Vikings on their raiding expeditions. Our second example is found in the extensive imitation on the Continent, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, of the English silver penny, especially of the types introduced by Henry II. and Edward I. The foreign "sterlings" were undoubtedly in most cases made with intent to deceive. The types are frequently exact reproductions of the English king's head, and the short cross with four, or the long cross with three, pellets in each angle. Some even copy part of the original inscription. These imitations were chiefly made at mints of the Low Countries, but also in Western Germany, Scandinavia, and Spain; they occur mingled freely in hoards of pennies found in this country, while English pennies form part of deposits of foreign sterlings in foreign lands. A constant flow of both kinds of coins across the Channel accompanied the Flanders trade. The fact that it was the English penny that was imitated is an interesting mark of the domination of English finance. In the same way, there could be no better witness to the importance of Italian commerce, especially in regions farther east, than the imitations which were made in Hungary, Rhodes, and elsewhere of the Florentine

or Venetian ducats, the introduction of which in the thirteenth century marked the beginning of the decline of Byzantium's command of the Eastern trade. But in the Low Countries England held her own, and her gold nobles were freely imitated by the Flemings in the fifteenth and even the sixteenth centuries.

From a subject allied to numismatics we may take a final example of the present category of evidence. The brass counters used in the West in casting up accounts were in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries almost exclusively of French, Anglo-Gallic, or Flemish origin. In the course of the fifteenth century the Germans, especially in Nuremberg, discovered that there was profit to be made out of these humble instruments. They began by imitating the old types and mottoes, usually in inferior metal. In the course of the sixteenth century they completely captured the market, and the names of the German makers appeared plainly on the counters which were used in this country everywhere save in a few exceptional houses. The methods of German trade in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are admirably illustrated by these counters.

To go into detail on the history of art as illustrated by coins would take us too far afield. Coins reflect the general movement of art with varying clearness. Affording a long, continuous, closely

dated series of undoubted authenticity—the proportion of forgeries capable of misleading is negligible—they are especially valuable as signposts on the road along which Greek art travelled. They are none the less true witnesses because in the best period coin engravers made no attempt to copy works of sculpture. An intelligent study of Greek coins reveals the existence of many a local school of art which, in the scarcity of monumental remains, would otherwise have remained unknown to us. In the Roman series the coins reflect the peculiarities of Roman art: its dependence in the late Republic and early Empire on Greek models; its lack of power to invent new conceptions, other than personifications of the most conventional kind; its realistic but unimaginative portraiture; its adoption in the fourth century of the frontal scheme of composition which was to fetter Christian art for so many centuries. In the early Middle Ages the general level is deplorably low. Occasionally there is a gleam of light. A few of Offa's coins show an effort at portraiture and design. Some of the German bracteates of the twelfth century are very decorative. And Frederick II. made a characteristic attempt to go back to earlier models. But the Renaissance came with the splendid French and English Gothic coinage of the fourteenth century, followed in the second half of the fifteenth century by the revival of the profile

portrait in Italy under the influence of the great medallists. The coinage thus accurately records in its humble script the fact that France was pre-eminent in the fourteenth century—a fact not too well recognized until recent years—and that it was not until the fifteenth that Italy resumed the lead which she had temporarily lost. The sixteenth century shows almost everywhere a decay of taste combined with better technique and increasing splendour—the Tudor gold is characteristic. In the seventeenth century mere technique reaches in France and England a height never surpassed. After that time coin engraving becomes more and more a mechanical craft, bearing little relation to fine art; although such an event as the arrival of the Elgin Marbles could not fail to affect the work of a technician like Pistrucci. As in the greater arts, the Greek models, while improving technique, overwhelmed the imaginations of their admirers rather than inspired them with great ideas.

The importance of coins as official documents for the early history of religion and mythology cannot be over-estimated. It is true that it can no longer be held that the types of Greek coins were adopted primarily for religious reasons, or that the earliest coins were issued under the auspices of priesthoods. The types appeared on the coins because they were already the badges or arms of

the issuing authorities. But the mere fact that the figures or attributes of deities were adopted as such insignia is evidence—often the only extant evidence—of the existence of local cults. Thanks to the coins, we have a fairly complete picture of the distribution of cults throughout the Greek world. The exceptions which prove the rule are provided by purely imitative currencies, and by such issues as those of Cyzicus and Lampsacus, which were made for more or less international circulation, and consequently bore a long series of changing types, the origin of which is not clearly understood, but cannot have lain in local cults. On such a problem as the divinization of kings a flood of light is thrown by a proper interpretation of the coins of the Diadochi, which supply almost all the evidence for the gradual development of the custom in the Hellenistic age. A remarkable picture of the worships of the cities of Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine in the first three centuries of the Roman Empire is given by the local coins, which show, for instance, how the cult of the Ephesian Artemis had taken root in many places, even as far away from its birthplace as Neapolis in Samaria.

When we come to the adoption of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire, a most significant indication of the very gradual way in which the change was effected is revealed by the

coin types. The cross first appears as an adjunct to the still pagan types at the mint of Ticinum in 314. Six years later the chi-rho monogram is introduced simultaneously at five mints. Both these slight innovations followed recent grants of privileges to the Christians. After the death of the pagan Licinius, the new influence becomes more marked; complete types, not mere adjuncts, of Christian significance begin to be used. The reign of Julian is marked by a sudden outburst of aggressively pagan types and the suppression of those of Christian significance. The inauguration of the Moslem coinage, with an inscription directly aimed at Christianity, appears to have been provoked by the anti-Moslem policy of Justinian II., who introduced the bust of Christ on his coins with the object of offending Moslem susceptibilities. It need hardly be said that such a type vanishes from the coins during the age of the iconoclastic emperors.

The historian is often expected to give the equivalent in modern money for payments recorded in his documents. He should take warning that there is no fixed rule for forming such estimates. Even if it is possible to express a value in terms of labour—as when we say that a soldier received a daric a month—we have still to estimate the place of such labour in the social economy of the time.

And a glance at such a work as the *History of Agriculture and Prices*, by Thorold Rogers, shows how misleading it may be to estimate the value of payments by reference to commodities. Quite apart from the fluctuations of prices from season to season, it is clear that the parts played by most commodities in the life of the people in the Middle Ages were very different from what they are now. Therefore it is best, when making such guesses at equivalents, to add that the only certainty is that the coins mentioned contained so much gold or silver, which at the present time would be the equivalent of so much English money.

II

THE student, when he is told that coins are so valuable as historical aids, may legitimately ask to see "the other side of the medal," and enquire how the coins themselves are dated. As the reply to this question reflects some light on the main object of this pamphlet, it will not be impertinent to give it in some detail. The procedure is to find a certain number of fixed points from external evidence and, so to speak, triangulate from the bases which they provide. The argument is often cumulative, and, it must be admitted, would often fail to find acceptance in a court of law. That, however, is true of most archæological and, perhaps, of much historical argument.

The first fixed points are, of course, given by coins which bear reference to known historical facts or persons, or are dated according to some known era or system. Such references have necessarily to be controlled by knowledge gained from other sources. That control is not always so easy as in the case of sixteenth-century medals with the head of Christ, or eighteenth-century tokens bearing the portraits of John of Gaunt or Queen Eliza-

beth, which are supposed by the uninitiated to be contemporary with those persons; whereas an elementary knowledge of the history of the art of coins and medals tells us that they are of much later date. The problem is usually much more difficult. There are, for instance, two series of coins of Sybaris. The old city was destroyed in 510 B.C. To the period immediately preceding that year must belong the earlier group of coins, of a peculiar technique; for any attempt to attribute them to the Athenian colony of New Sybaris, resuscitated in 443, is checked by our knowledge of the style of the middle of the fifth century. (That knowledge, in its turn, is acquired from coins of other cities, such as the Greek colonies in Sicily, the development of which can be watched in the light of historically fixed data.) This fact, of the date of the earliest Sybarite coins, once ascertained, becomes a fixed point for controlling the date of other coins of the same peculiar technique. The second group of coins of Sybaris is of mid-fifth-century style; but we cannot be quite certain whether they were struck at New Sybaris, before it changed its name to Thurium, or at the secession foundation on the Traeis which split off from New Sybaris soon after 443. Here style cannot help us; but since the obverse type of the coins is Athena, it seems natural to suppose that the coins belong to the Athenian colony, not to the seces-

sion, which was conducted by the old Sybarite element. There can, in any case, be no doubt about the approximate date. Occasionally the internal evidence of the coins gives us both termini, *post quem* and *ante quem*. Thus coins of Himera, which combine the Himerean type of the cock with the Agrigentine crab, must belong to the period of Agrigentine rule in Himera, 482–472 B.C. Sometimes we obtain valuable information about the relative dates of two classes of coins from the fact that one is restruck on the other—*i.e.*, coins of one class have been used as blanks for making coins of the other class, and the old types are legible, as in a palimpsest, under the new ones.

The coinage of Alexander the Great and his successors is a good instance of the complexity in which the dating of coins is sometimes involved, owing to the *immobilization* of types. Coins with the types and name of Alexander were produced by all sorts of rulers and States from his death in 323 B.C. down to the first century B.C. His immediate successors, such as Lysimachus in Thrace down to about 311 B.C., and Seleucus in Syria and Babylonia down to 306 B.C., simply reproduce his coins, sometimes adding a distinguishing adjunct in the field. The coins continue to be copied, alongside of coins issued by such rulers with their own types and inscriptions. The style changes by degrees. The coins are produced not only by the

Diadochi, but by the free or semi-autonomous cities, which in the latest period sometimes mark them with obviously recognizable symbols, such as the rose of Rhodes or the wine-jar of Chios. Sometimes we get a series of dates, though it is usually very difficult to identify the era by which those dates are reckoned. It is only of late years that real advance has been made by intensive study in the geographical and chronological classification of the series. The point for the student to remember is that the margin of error in dating some series of coins is much wider than in others. But such a series as the Alexandrine is exceptional, although that bearing the name and types of Lysimachus had nearly as long a life. Normally, regal coins are the easiest to date, when they bear distinctive names; but when, as in the case of the Ptolemies of Egypt, or the Arsacids of Parthia, the dynastic name, with or without complimentary epithets, is preferred to the personal name, and there is more or less immobilization of the types, classification becomes excessively difficult. We depend (failing actual dates) on finds, on sequence of dies, on development of style—a treacherous guide in half-barbarous countries—or on portraiture, which is likewise apt to mislead.

To give some instances from later times of the dating of coins by their historical references: There are silver deniers bearing the title “*Carlus Rex*

Fr(ancorum)," and the names of the Italian cities of Pavia, Milan, Treviso, and Lucca, with the Carolus monogram. To which king do they belong? To Charlemagne, because he alone possessed, together with the title above mentioned, the places on coins of which these types occur. Again, a ninth-century denaro with the inscription "Ioannes Papa" round the abbreviation "Cap." must be one of the coins which were struck between 872 and 879 by Pandulf, Count of Capua (862-879), during the time of John VIII. (872-882), to whom he had submitted himself; coins to which Erchimbert refers (*Hist. Lang.* 47): "Pandonulfus prius se subdiderat dicto Papae, in cuius vocamine et chartae et nummi figurati sunt." The nobles of Edward III. which omit the title of King of France and call him merely Lord of Aquitaine must belong to the years from 1360 to 1369, while the Treaty of Brétigny was respected. The Irish coins of John which call him merely Domin(us) Yber(niae) must be assigned to the period when he was Lord of Ireland but not yet King of England (1177-1199). But in mediæval and modern, just as in ancient, times we have to be on our guard against the immobilization of types. Perhaps the most disconcerting example of all is provided by the English silver pennies of the "short cross" series, which begin under Henry II. in 1180 and continue, bearing always the same types and the same regal

name, "Henricus Rex," through the reigns of Richard and John into that of Henry III., down to the year 1247. Only by a prolonged study of the names of the moneyers, of the records of the mints, and of the minutest changes in style and lettering, has the dating of these coins been cleared up. The pennies of the first three Edwards are nearly as uniform. The groats and half-groats of the first issue of Henry VIII. reproduce the features of his father, although the inscription reveals the later date of the coins. The French series provides a number of puzzles of the same sort; the immobilization of the royal type of the denier at the end of the Carolingian period is well known. The name of the Sovereign who granted, or was alleged to have granted, to a city the right to open a mint is often perpetuated on coins struck generations after his death; thus the name of Carloman appears on twelfth-century deniers of Autun, just as if they had been struck during his reign. The same custom prevailed in Italy. In Spain, it would appear that coins of the types of Ferdinand and Isabella went on being issued after the Queen's death in 1504 even down to 1555. A final and very curious example: After the death of the Cardinal de Bourbon, Charles X., in 1590, the League continued to strike coins in his name. Fortunately the pieces thus issued bore dates, showing that they were struck from 1590 to 1594 and in 1598.

In antiquity and the Middle Ages—indeed, until the sixteenth century was well advanced—the placing of dates on coins was irregular and sporadic. Of ancient civil eras the most famous, the Seleucid, was used within a few years of its inauguration in 312 B.C. to date the coins of certain Phoenician cities. There are numerous other ancient eras of more local vogue which would be very useful if we could always decide which we have to do with. It is not often that an equation is provided, as for instance at Gaza, where the coins of the time of Hadrian bear dates calculated from his visit to the city in 130 and also the years of the local era. Usually a somewhat complicated calculation is required to fix an era. Regnal years are, of course, very useful when they occur. Under the early Empire the Roman coins are frequently dated by the years of various offices held by the emperors (such as the consulship or the Tribunician power) or by imperatorial acclamations, but the system is seldom carried through, and after the time of the Antonines gradually falls out of use. The signing of coins by State officials was doubtless originally introduced to fix responsibility for the quality of the coinage. Where the dates of such officials have been preserved—as they very rarely have—we get fixed chronological points. The most elaborate system was evolved in Athens during the period of the “New Style”—*i.e.*, from 229 B.C.

to the time of Augustus. In its most complete form the system required the coins to bear (*a*) the names of two honorary magistrates, (*b*) the signet of the first of these, (*c*) the name of a third official, who was probably a member of a controlling committee of twelve of the Areopagus holding office in monthly rotation according to the months of the *solar* year, (*d*) a letter denoting the *lunar* month in which the coin was issued, and (*e*) an additional mint-mark, perhaps indicating the particular mine by which the metal was supplied. A study of these complex controls, in connexion with astronomical data, has fixed the precise years of some of the coins concerned and, it is said, has shown that the hitherto established chronology of the Athenian archons is one year too early. Dating by months is rare outside Athens, although it occurs occasionally in the Pontic and Parthian series. It is curious to find it on the "gun money," or money of necessity, issued in the name of James II. in Ireland after his expulsion from England.

The numismatist, in classifying his coins, of course works as far as possible with the help of archives, in addition to casual references in literature. Use has to be made of edicts and grants of the right of coinage, legislation of all kinds, surveys like Domesday, and above all—when available—mint records. For ancient times our knowledge of the organization and procedure of

mints has to be deduced almost entirely from the coins. Nothing like the Exchequer Accounts or Patent Rolls of our Public Record Office has survived. In the classification of the English coins the records of the Trials of the Pyx are particularly useful, especially when they indicate the privy marks which distinguished the coins which were assayed.

But documents of whatever kind too often fail to find confirmation in extant coins. Sometimes this is due to chance, no specimens having been preserved from destruction. Sometimes obscurity in the wording of the document makes it difficult to identify the coins to which it refers. One of the cruces of Jewish numismatics is the date of the "thick" silver shekels. The traditional attribution to Simon Maccabaeus has been supposed to receive confirmation from the statement in 1 Macc. xv. 5-6 that Antiochus VII. of Syria granted to Simon the right to strike coins for his own country. But other evidence—such as fabric and lettering—favours an attribution to the time of the First Revolt (A.D. 66-70); and this has recently been confirmed by a find. (It may be observed that the peculiar character of Jewish art makes the criterion of style of little service in this case.) We are, therefore, driven to suppose either that the grant made by the Syrian king related to a bronze coinage only, or that Simon did not avail

himself of it, or that the silver coins which he issued have not survived. Evidently edicts must not always be interpreted in what seems the obvious sense. The Édit de Pîtres (June 25, 864) ordered that the deniers should bear on one side the king's name in a circular legend around his monogram; on the other side, the name of the mint around a cross. It also ordered that henceforward these coins should be struck only in the Palace and at Quentovic, Rouen, Reims, Sens, Paris, Orléans, Chalons, Melle, and Narbonne. What are the facts? Not one of the extant coins of the types described was struck at any one of these mints: they were issued from Agen, Arles, Mayence, etc. What is more, the coins of this type struck at Agen, Mayence, and elsewhere are *earlier* than 864, being in fact of the time of Charlemagne. The edict therefore (1) was intended not, as might have been supposed, to introduce a new type, but to stabilize an old one; (2) was not fully obeyed.

Another enactment that was apparently not fully carried out was that of the Synod of Greatley in 928. It was ordered that there was to be a uniform coinage throughout the realm, and that no coin should be made save in a town. To each burg was assigned one moneyer; some had more, even up to eight, which was London's quota. But no less than four of the mints mentioned—Chichester, Colchester, Hastings, and Lewes—are unrepresented

among the great quantity of coins of Aethelstan that have come down to us. The towns probably did not take advantage of the right which was granted to them. Similarly, in Italy we find that the earliest coins of Ascoli are of the municipality and date from the thirteenth century, although as early as 1037 the bishops of that city received the right of coinage from Conrad I. The Bishop of Bergamo could have struck coins in virtue of a grant from Frederick Barbarossa in 1156, but, so far as we know, he did nothing of the kind; a communal coinage began in 1237. A charter of Henry IV. endowed the Archbishops of Ravenna with coinage rights in 1063; but the earliest coins are of the thirteenth century. It is, of course, possible that some grants of this kind are fictitious, invented at the time when the coinage actually began.

Hoards, when secured in their entirety—a condition all too rarely fulfilled, thanks to human cupidity and negligence—provide one of the most interesting forms of evidence for the dating of coins, as well as for the state of the currency at the time of burial. A few instances will make this clear. The ancient British site on Hengistbury Head in Hampshire yielded, some years before the recent excavations, a potful of some 677 coins. There were 13 Roman Republican denarii, ranging from the second century B.C. to Octavian;

2 Imperial denarii, of Tiberius and Vitellius; 30 Imperial copper coins (the latest being of Hadrian); and 16 imitations of Roman coins, probably made in Gaul. The mass of the find consisted of British coins of various kinds, with a few strays from the Channel Islands or Gaul. Nearly 300 of the British coins were of kinds previously known; and about an equal number were of an entirely new class, cast in moulds instead of being, in the manner usual with British coins, struck with dies. The but little worn condition of the latest Roman coins in the hoard proves that it must have been deposited not long after the middle of the second century. The cast coins had experienced practically no circulation at all. We are, therefore, entitled to assume, failing rebutting evidence, that they were new about A.D. 125-150; and also that the other British coins, of types previously known, continued in more or less frequent circulation into the second century. That is about as near a definition of date as it is possible to obtain in a barbarous series like the British.

In more civilized currencies, the evidence obtained from finds is more exact. Datings are obtained by comparison between various hoards. In the series of our Norman kings the evidence of finds has been used to fix the sequence of the issues. The Soberton find contained pennies of Edward Confessor, Harold, and William I. All the coins

of the last were of one type, the “profile-cross-fleury.” All other finds which contain coins of the Confessor and of Harold and William also contain this type of William. It follows that this is William’s first issue. Two other finds at York combine to show that the “bonnet” type was the second to be issued in William’s reign. The two types are connected by a “mule”—*i.e.*, a coin struck with the obverse die peculiar to one type and the reverse die of another. Such mules, we may remark in passing, are invaluable as showing the connexion between issues.

Hoards are, of course, not without their pitfalls. When they are neither incomplete, nor “salted” by the introduction of pieces which were not found at the same time and place, but have been mixed with them by carelessness or with intent to deceive, they may still occasionally mislead. A man who hoards coins may suddenly come into possession of somebody else’s savings and add these coins to his own before he buries the lot. Or the sequence of issues may be very irregularly represented, because the collecting has not been continuous. Gold, as being more apt to be hoarded, is less useful as a witness than less precious metals. Like every other kind of evidence, this kind requires skilful handling.

Style, as evidence for the dating of coins, depends for its cogency on the “eye” of the numismatist.

Combined with fabric—*i.e.*, the technical make of a coin—it is invaluable. One has, however, to reckon with deliberate archaism—as in the Attic coinage of the fifth century—and with the irregular development of art, especially in outlying districts. Even the Middle Ages were capable of deliberately reverting to antique designs and fabric—witness the copper coins of William II. struck at Palermo, with the types of lion's head and date-palm, which a beginner may easily take for ancient Greek coins. Our knowledge of the development of style has, of course, been formed from series which have been chronologically fixed by various other kinds of evidence; but the instrument, once forged, may be used in the first instance by itself. The best numismatists begin a work of classification by style, and then confirm or disestablish their conclusions by the application of other criteria. The general impression is tested by details of technique, by ornament, by lettering. And when some sort of arrangement has been established, the result is submitted to the test of such historical facts as are available. Inverted as this process may seem to the inexpert, it is only the logical development of the training which enables the expert to say, without detailed examination, that the Attic coins bearing the inscription ΑΘΕ Ο ΔΕΜΟΣ, in spite of the archaic spelling, cannot be earlier than the third century B.C.

The reader whose patience has carried him thus far may feel that the snares which beset the numismatic ways are so numerous that it is better to avoid them altogether. But he need not be unduly alarmed. Emphasis has deliberately been laid on the uncertainties of the subject (which are no greater than in any other special branch of historical research) in order that the interpretation of coins may not be undertaken with the light heart that betokens inexperience. No student can afford to neglect the numismatic evidence on his subject altogether. As an example of the consequences of such neglect let us recall the prize essay which identified the Mint of Calais as a savoury herb, from the cultivation of which a certain revenue accrued to the English Exchequer.

III

A WORD may be added about medals. From the inauguration of the modern medal by Pisanello in 1438, they provide, in the first place, a very useful factor in biographical research. Many of the Italian medals, especially, rise to the first rank in the art of portraiture; not a few medals are the only authentic portraits of the persons they represent. Generally speaking, however, it must be admitted that as documents for political history they are unsatisfactory. In the sixteenth century princes were quick to realize the effectiveness of the medal as a means of propaganda. Henry VIII., for instance, issued in 1545 a medal proclaiming in three languages his claim to be Defender of the Faith and under Christ Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland. In the hands of rulers and parties medals were used with a vigour which gives them value less as a mirror of facts than as a revelation of political purposes and party feeling. In the latter respect they should be very useful to the historian of politics. It is impossible, for instance, to have any idea of the popular agitation about Admiral Vernon, his sensational success

at Portobello and his failure at Cartagena, without a study of the innumerable medals that were flung broadcast by his admirers. But they bear almost as little relation to the historic truth as Napoleon's medal "struck at London" in 1804 to commemorate his invasion of England.

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A.I.I.—*Atti e Memorie dell' Istituto Italiano di Numismatica*. Rome, 1913—.

For the Russian numismatic periodicals (Transactions of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society, Numismatic Section; Transactions of the Moscow Numismatic Society and Numismatic Miscellany of the M.N.S.) see the bibliography in E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge, 1913), p. xxvii.

On the question of the **Origins and Evolution of Coinage** information will be found in the general works mentioned below; but they are specially treated in W. Ridgeway's *Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards* (Cambridge, 1892); E. Babelon's *Origines de la monnaie* (Paris, 1897); G. Macdonald's *Coin Types* (Glasgow, 1905); and *Evolution of Coinage* (Cambridge, 1916). J. Déchelette, "Les Origines de la drachme et de l'obole" (*R.N.*, 1911), may also be consulted. C. F. Keary's "Morphology of Coins" (*N.C.*, 1885-6) is very instructive on the general development of coin form.

Metrology and Coin Standards.—Before attacking

any of the older works on this subject, the first section (pp. 3-44) of O. Viedebant, *Forschungen zur Metrologie des Altertums (Abhandlungen der k. sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse xxxiv., Leipzig, 1917)*, should if possible be read. When the principles there laid down—especially as to the practical method of ascertaining old standards by the “frequency tables”—have been mastered, and the warning given above (p. 11) taken to heart, the views of other writers may be consulted in F. Hultsch, *Griechische und römische Metrologie*, second edition (Berlin, 1882); the writings of Lehmann-Haupt in *Verhandl. der Berliner anthropol. Gesellschaft*, 1889, and in later publications, as well as those of his opponent F. H. Weissbach (references to both in Viedebant). P. Gardner’s *History of Ancient Coinage, 700-300 B.C.* (Oxford, 1918) is the latest English attempt to grapple with the subject as a whole; while G. Macdonald’s “Silver Coinage of Crete” (*Proc. Brit. Acad.*, ix., 1920) may be taken as an example of modern method applied to a single branch. For the coin standards of mediæval and modern times information must be sought in the books classified below.

Greek and Roman Coins.—The great classic is J. H. von Eckhel’s *Doctrina numorum veterum*, 8 vols., Vienna, 1792-8. Its modern rival, E. Babelon’s *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*

(Paris, 1901—), has the advantage of being finely illustrated. The general Introduction (excluding metrology and typology) fills t. i. The descriptive volumes so far published bring the history down to the fourth century B.C. for some parts of the Greek world. The most convenient work of reference for Greek coins is B. V. Head's *Historia Numorum* (Oxford, 1911, with bibliographies up to date). The Catalogues of the British Museum (begun in 1873) by Poole, Head, Gardner, Wroth, and Hill, are now nearly complete (the volumes on Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia by Hill, and on Cyrenaica and the rest of North Africa by E. S. G. Robinson are in preparation). Other large collective enterprises are: (1) the Berlin Corpus (Berlin, 1898—; general editor, F. Imhoof-Blumer); so far only portions of *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands* (Dacia and parts of Moesia, Thrace, and Macedon) and the first part of *Die antiken Münzen Mysiens* have appeared; (2) the *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*, by H. Waddington, Th. Reinach, and E. Babelon (Paris, 1904—), which so far has covered Pontus, Paphlagonia, and Bithynia. Head's *Guide to the Gold and Silver Coins of the Ancients* (British Museum, fourth edition, 1895) has seventy-five excellent plates covering the period before the Christian era. Useful and well-illustrated catalogues of the smaller public and private collections are

G. Macdonald's *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection* (Glasgow, 1899-1905); K. Regling's *Sammlung Warren* (Berlin, 1906; the Boston Collection); and *Collection R. Jameson* (Greek and Imperial Roman: Paris, 1913).

On the general theory of ancient coinage, F. Lenormant's *La monnaie dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1878-9) is still very instructive. Hill's *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* (1899) has full references and bibliographies (the metrological chapter should be ignored). Gardner's *Types of Greek Coins* (Cambridge, 1882) and Macdonald's *Coin Types* (see above) should be consulted on the development and significance of types. The use of Greek coins for teaching history is exemplified in different ways by Hill's *Historical Greek Coins* (1906) and Gardner's *History* above mentioned. An invaluable list of all the names of officials found on Greek coins is given by R. Münsterberg, "Beamtennamen auf griechischen Münzen" in *N.Z.*, 1911-1914. None of the periodicals mentioned above (except, perhaps, *A.J.* before 1912) can be neglected by the student of Greek coins. There is no room here for a list of the monographs on special parts of the Greek world, but a very few of the most recent may be selected:

Syracuse: L. Tudeer, "Tetradrachmenprägung von Syrakus in der Periode der signierenden Künstler," in *Z. f. N.*, 1913. **S. Russia, Kingdom**

of Bosphorus, etc.: E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge, 1913). **Balkans:** N. A. Mushmov, *Ancient Coins of the Balkan Peninsula and of the Tsars of Bulgaria* (Sofia, 1912; in Bulgarian); L. Ruzicka, "Münzen von Serdica" in *N.Z.*, 1915; and "Inedita aus Moesia inferior" in *N.Z.*, 1917 (numerous additions to the Berlin Corpus). **Macedon:** J. N. Svoronos, *L'hellénisme primitif de la Macédoine prouvé par la numismatique* (Paris, Athens, 1919). **Alexander the Great and Alexandrine Coinages:** E. T. Newell, important articles in *A.J.*, 1912 and 1918, and *N.C.*, 1915; also *Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake* (Yale University Press, 1916). **Elis:** C. T. Seltman, "The Temple Coins of Olympia," in *Nom.*, viii., ix. (1913-14). **Crete:** G. Macdonald, "The Silver Coinage of Crete," in *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, ix., 1920. **Asia Minor:** H. von Fritze, "Elektronprägung von Kyzikos" in *Nom.*, vii. (1912); "Silberprägung von Kyzikos," *ib.*, ix. (1914). J. Mavrogordato, "Chronological Arrangement of the Coins of Chios" in *N.C.*, 1915-18. **Syria:** E. T. Newell, "Seleucid Mint of Antioch" in *A.J.*, 1917, and "Pre-Imperial Coinage of Roman Antioch" in *N.C.*, 1919. **Arabia and Mesopotamia:** Hill, "Ancient Coinage of South Arabia" in *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, vii. (1915), and "Mints of Roman Arabia and Mesopotamia" in *Journ. Roman Studies*, vii. (1917). Allotte de la Fuÿe, "Monnaies de l'Ély-

maïde" in *R.N.*, 1919. **Persia** : Hill, "Imperial Persian Coinage" in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1919. **Northern Africa** : E. S. G. Robinson, "Quaestiones Cyrenaicae" in *N.C.*, 1915. Finally, it should be mentioned that the miscellaneous descriptions of coins by F. Imhoof-Blumer all deserve the most careful attention.

For **Roman** coins, treated separately from Greek : Th. Mommsen, *Histoire de la monnaie romaine*, translated by Duc de Blacas and J. de Witte (Paris, 1865-75); this is antiquated in regard to dating of the earliest coinage. On the chronology of the Republican period: E. J. Haeberlin's "Systematik des ältesten römischen Münzwesens" (in *Berliner Münzblätter*, 1905) is dogmatic, but marks a great advance. His great descriptive work *Aes grave, das Schwergeld Roms und Mittelitaliens* (Frankfurt-a.-M., 1910) and H. A. Grueber's British Museum Catalogue, *Roman Republic* (1910), together give a complete picture of the coinage before the time of Augustus. M. Bahrfeldt has recently corrected many details in the Republican series, in *N.Z.*, 51 (1918). His earlier *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde der römischen Republik* (Vienna, 1897), a criticism of Babelon's work on the subject, must not be neglected by the student of minute details. A general outline of the development of the Roman monetary system by E. A. Sydenham is in progress in *N.C.*, 1918—.

An introduction to the historical bearings of the Republican series is given in Hill's *Historical Roman Coins* (1909). The transition to the Empire is cleverly handled by H. Willers, *Geschichte des römischen Kupferprägung bis auf Kaiser Claudius* (Leipzig, 1909). The difficult questions connected with the organization of the coinage by Augustus have recently been much discussed: see L. Laffranchi, *Lä Monetazione di Augusto* (Milan, 1919); H. Mattingly in *Journal of Roman Studies*, vii.; and the same and E. A. Sydenham in *N.C.*, 1917-19. Indispensable, though remarkably inaccurate, is H. Cohen's *Monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain* (second edition, Paris, 1880-92). F. Gneecchi's "Appunti di Numismatica Romana" (running through the greater part of the *R.I.*) have brought to light many unpublished coins.

From the literature dealing with special periods of the Empire we select the following:

First century, post-Augustan: E. A. Sydenham, *Coinage of Nero* (1920); H. Mattingly, "Coinage of the Civil Wars of 68-9 A.D. (*N.C.*, 1914). L. Laffranchi, "Un centenario numismatico nell' antichità" [Vespasian] (*R.I.*, 1911). B. Pick, "Zur Titulatur der Flavii" (*Z.f.N.*, xiii., 1885).

Second century: C. H. Dodd, "Eastern Campaigns of L. Verus" (*N.C.*, 1911) and "Danubian Wars of Marcus Antoninus" (*N.C.*, 1913).

Third century: K. Menadier, *Die Münzen und*

das Münzwesen bei den Scriptores Historiae Augustae [treacherousness of these authorities as regards coinage] (Berlin Diss., 1913). O. Voetter, "Münzen des Kaisers Gallienus und seiner Familie" (N.Z., 1900). A. Markl, "Die Reichsmünzstätten unter der Regierung Claudius II. Gothicus" (N.Z., 1884); ditto for Quintillus (N.Z., 1890). Th. Rohde, *Münzen des Kaisers Aurelianus, seiner Frau Severina, und der Fürsten von Palmyra* (Miskoloz, 1881). O. Seeck, "Münzpolitik Diocletians und seiner Nachfolger" (Z.f. N., 1890). P. H. Webb, "Carausius" (N.C., 1907, and separately 1908); and "Allectus" (N.C., 1906). O. Voetter on the bronze coinage of the Diocletianic tetrarchy in N.Z., 1899, 1911, 1917, 1918.

Fourth century: the coinage of the Constantinian period generally is treated with great historical knowledge by J. Maurice, *Numismatique Constantinienne* (Paris, 1908-12). H. Willers, "Römische Silberbarren mit Stempeln" (important for late fourth-century currency) (N.Z., 1898, 1899). A. J. Evans, "Roman Currency in Britain from Valentinian I. to Constantine III." (N.C., 1915).

A complete illustrated corpus of Roman medallions is provided by F. Gnechi, *Medaglioni Romani* (Milan, 1912).

The periodicals which deal with Greek (except *J. Int.*) should also be consulted for Roman numis-

matics; the Italian ones naturally specialize on this branch.

Byzantine coinage is fully described by J. Sabatier, *Monnaies byzantines* (Paris and London, 1862), W. Wroth, *British Museum Catalogue of Imperial Byzantine Coins* (1908), and Count J. Tolstoi, *Monnaies byzantines*, in Russian (St. Petersburg, 1913—in progress). Wroth's *British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths, and Lombards* (1911) also contains the sub-Byzantine coinages of Thessalonica, Nicaea, and Trebizond.

The vast subject of the **medieval and modern** coinage of the **European Continent** is summarized by A. Engel and R. Serrure, *Numismatique du moyen âge* (Paris, 1891–95), and *Numismatique moderne* (Paris, 1897–99). A shorter general theory of numismatics is given in A. Luschin von Ebengreuth's *Allgemeine Münzkunde und Geldgeschichte* (Munich, 1904). Monetary standards and the “effects of currency and exchange phenomena on commercial and national progress and well-being” in the period 1252–1894, in America as well as Europe, are the subject of W. A. Shaw's *History of Currency* (no date; bibliography).

Two attempts at dictionaries of names of coins, chiefly useful for medieval and modern numismatics, should perhaps be mentioned here: E. Martinori, *La Moneta* (Rome, 1915), and A. R. Frey, “Dic-

tionary of Numismatic Names " in *A.J.*, 50 (1916). The latter writer has also compiled a list of dated European coins earlier than 1501 in *A.J.*, 47 (1913).

Leaving Britain aside for the moment, we note the following monographs, for the most part later than the summaries above mentioned:

France.—A. Blanchet et A. Dieudonné, *Manuel de numismatique française* (Paris, 1912–16) gives the history of the regal coinage down to the Revolution, and when complete will also describe the feudal series; full references.

Spain and Dominions.—M. Vidal Quadras y Ramón, *Catálogo de la Colección de Monedas y Medallas* (Barcelona, 1892). J. Botel y Sisó, *Les monedes catalanes* (Barcelona, 1908–11). A. Herrera, *El Duro : estudio de los reales de a ocho españolas*, etc. (Madrid, 1914).

Low Countries.—On the imitations of the sterlings, J. Chautard, *Imitations des monnaies au type esterlin* (Nancy, 1872) remains indispensable. A. de Witte, *Histoire monétaire des Comtes de Louvain, Ducs de Brabant* (Antwerp, 1894–99). E. Bernays et Jules Vannérus, *Histoire numismatique du Comté puis Duché de Luxembourg* (Brussels, 1910).

German Lands.—A supplementary volume to H. Dannenberg's *Deutsche Münzen der Sächsischen und fränkischen Kaiserzeit* appeared in 1905.

H. Buchenau, *Der Bracteatenfund von Seega* (Marburg, 1905) deals with the bracteate currency of the Hohenstaufen period. E. Bahrfeldt, *Münzwesen der Mark Brandenburg* (Berlin, 1889–95, and Halle-a.-S., 1913), and *Münzen- und Medaillen-Sammlung in der Marienburg*, including series of Brandenburg, Prussia, and Danzig (Danzig, 1901–10). F. von Schrötter und G. Schmoller, *Das preussische Münzwesen im 18 Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1902–13). F. von Schrötter, *Die Münzen Friedrich Wilhelms des Grossen Kurfürsten und Friedrichs III. von Brandenburg* (Berlin, 1913). P. Joseph und E. Fellner, *Münzen von Frankfurt-am-Main* (Frankfurt, 1896). J. P. Beierlein, *Medaillen und Münzen des Gesamthauses Wittelsbach* (Munich, 1897–1901). E. Fiala, *Beschreibung der Sammlung böhmischer Münzen und Medaillen des M. Donebauer* (Prag, 1890); *Katalog der Münzen- und Medaillen-Stempel-Sammlung des K. K. Hauptmünzamtes in Wien* (Vienna, 1901–8); and *Münzen und Medaillen der Welfischen Lande—i.e., Brunswick, etc.* (Berlin, 1904–12); L. Réthy, *Corpus numorum Hungariae*, two parts published, to sixteenth century (Budapest, 1899–1907). Besides the German periodicals already mentioned, note the *Frankfurter Münzzeitung* (Frankfurt-a.-M.), *Blätter für Münzfreunde* (Dresden), *Monatsblatt der numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna), and *Numismatikai Köz-löny* (Budapest).

Switzerland.—L. Coraggioni, *Münzgeschichte der Schweiz* (Geneva, 1896); W. Tobler-Meyer, *Münz- und Medaillen-Sammlung des H. Wunderly v. Muralt* (Zürich, 1895–99). The Townshend collection of Swiss coins (R. S. Poole, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Swiss Coins in the South Kensington Museum*, 1878) is now deposited in the British Museum. Periodical: *Revue suisse de numismatique*.

Italy.—Bibliography in F. and E. Gneecchi, *Saggio di bibliografia numismatica delle zecche italiane* (Milan, 1889); supplements in *R.I.*, 1906 and 1916. A useful survey of the period 476–1266 is given in Part I. of G. Sambon's *Reperitorio generale delle monete coniate in Italia . . . dal secolo V° al XX°* (Paris, 1912). The King of Italy's *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum* will give a complete list of coins. So far seven volumes have appeared (Rome, 1910—), covering the North of Italy (House of Savoy, Piedmont, Liguria, Corsica, Lombardy, Venice). Venice is also fully dealt with by N. Papadopoli, *Monete di Venezia* (Venice, 1893–1919). The admirable Vatican *Catalogo delle monete e bulle pontificie* (Milan, 1910–13) by C. Serafini should be supplemented by E. Martinori's *Annali della Zecca di Roma, 1370–1870* (Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, Rome, 1917—, in progress). For the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, see Memmo Cagiati, *Monete del Reame delle due*

Sicilie (Naples, 1911-16, in progress); and for Benevento the same author's "Zecca di Benevento" in *R.I.*, 1915-16.

The Italian periodicals mentioned above should also be consulted on Italian coins.

Malta.—H. C. Schembri, *Coins and Medals of the Knights of Malta* (1908) does not entirely supersede E. H. Furse, *Mémoires numismatiques de l'Ordre Souverain de Saint Jean de Jerusalem* (Rome, 1885).

Denmark.—P. Hauberg, *Myntforhold og Udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146* (Copenhagen, 1900, summary in French). J. Wilcke, *Christian IV.'s Møntpolitik, 1588-1625* (Copenhagen, 1919).

Sweden.—*Förteckning öfver Antellska Myntsamlingens i Helsingfors: Svenska Mynt* (two parts published, to sixteenth century, Helsingfors, 1906-8); K. A. Wallroth, "Sveriges Mynt 1449-1917" in *Svenska Num. Meddelanden* (Stockholm, 1918).

Money of necessity and siege-money of all European States are collected in *Feld-, Not- und Belagerungsmünzen*, by A. Brause (Berlin, 1897-1903).

Great Britain and Ireland.—A scholarly summary work on the coinage of these islands is badly wanted. The foundations for a study of the early British coinage were laid by Sir John Evans in his *Ancient British Coins* (1864; supplement, 1890). Some in-

teresting details have to be added, as the identification of the currency of iron bars: latest in A. Bulleid and H. St. G. Gray, *The Glastonbury Lake Village*, ii., pp. 395-403 (Glastonbury, 1917); coin of Cartimandua (in *N.C.*, 1897); and the coinage of the Hengistbury Head settlement (J. P. Bushe-Fox, Soc. of Antiquaries, *Excavations at Hengistbury Head*, Oxford, 1915). For other additions to the literature of early British coins consult the indexes to *N.C.* and *B.N.J.* R. Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage* (London, 1840) covers the whole ground for England, but requires revision throughout. The Anglo-Saxon coins in the British Museum have been catalogued by C. F. Keary and H. A. Grueber (1887-1893); these volumes should be supplemented by B. E. Hildebrand's *Anglosachsiska Mynt* (Stockholm, 1881), which is based on the vast quantities of coins which, especially from Aethelred II.'s time, found their way to Scandinavia; by H. A. Grueber's account of an important hoard of late eighth and ninth century coins (*N.C.*, 1894); and by various other articles in *N.C.* and *B.N.J.* The Norman period is exhaustively treated in the British Museum *Catalogue*, "Norman Kings," by G. C. Brooke (1916).

Articles on special periods of English numismatics which have not yet been assimilated by standard books are:

On the "Short Cross" Period (1180-1247), L. A.

Lawrence in *B.N.J.*, second series, i. (1914), and *N.C.*, 1916. "Long Cross" coinage of Henry III. and Edward I.: Lawrence in *B.N.J.*, x., and second series, i. (1913-14). On the first three Edwards, J. Shirley-Fox and H. B. Earle Fox in *B.N.J.*, 1909-13 (summary of the classification of pennies in *N.C.*, 1917). Brooke's account of the East Raynham find of nobles, *N.C.*, 1911. Crump and Johnson on the bullion coined in these reigns, *N.C.*, 1913. Richard II.: F. A. Walters, *N.C.*, 1904. Henry IV.: Lawrence and Walters, *N.C.*, 1905. Henry V.: Walters, *N.C.*, 1906. Henry VI.: Walters, *N.C.*, 1902-3, 1911. Edward IV.: Walters, *N.C.*, 1909-10, 1914. Henry VII.: Lawrence, *N.C.*, 1918. Tudors and early Stewarts: much new material from archives is collected by H. Symonds in *N.C.*, 1910-17, and *B.N.J.*, 1911-14. Anglo-Gallic series: L. Hewlett has given in *N.C.*, 1905-19 (also separately, *Anglo-Gallic Coins*, 1920), a careful revision of the whole subject, except the Calais issues, for which see J. Bailhache in *R.N.*, 1916.

Such articles must be used to supplement the lists found in collectors' handbooks like E. Hawkins's *Silver Coins of England* (third edition, by Kenyon, London, 1887), R. Ll. Kenyon's *Gold Coins of England* (London, 1884), and H. Montagu's *Copper, Tin, and Bronze Coinage . . . of England* (1893), or in H. A. Grueber's *British Museum Hand-*

book to the Coinage of Great Britain and Ireland (London, 1899).

For the documents relating to the English Mint in the Public Record Office, see *Lists and Indexes*—ii. (1893): “Declared Accounts,” pp. 52–56, 230–238; xi. (1900): “Foreign Accounts,” pp. 56–61; and xxxv. (1912): “Various Exchequer Accounts,” pp. 175–186.

For the “Saxon, Norman, and Plantagenet Coinage of Wales,” see P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton in *B.N.J.*, 1905.

Scotland is comparatively well represented by R. W. Cochran-Patrick’s *Records of the Coinage of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1876) and E. Burns’s *Coinage of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1887), together with A. B. Richardson’s *Catalogue of the Scottish Coins in the National Museum, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1901). G. Macdonald’s account of the *Mint of Crossraguel Abbey* (*N.C.*, 1919) throws fresh light on the state of the coinage in the late fifteenth century.

Ireland is in bad case. Scattered papers by Aquilla Smith in *Trans. and Proc. Royal Irish Acad.*, 1840–53; *Trans. Kilkenny Archæol. Soc.*, 1854 ff., and in *N.C.*, 1863–85, must be supplemented by G. Coffey’s *Catalogue of Irish Coins in the Collection of the Royal Irish Academy*, Part II.: “Anglo-Irish” (Dublin, 1895); B. Roth’s “Danish Kings of Ireland” (*B.N.J.*, vi., 1909); H. Symonds’s

articles in *N.C.*, 1915 and 1917, on the Irish coinage from Henry VIII. to Elizabeth; and P. Nelson's *Coinage of Ireland in Copper, Tin, and Pewter, 1460-1826* (Liverpool, 1905). The last writer has also described the "Coinage of the **Isle of Man**" in *N.C.*, 1899.

The **token coinage** of the seventeenth century (of some interest for local history) is collected by W. Boyne, *Trade Tokens issued in the Seventeenth Century*, second edition, by G. C. Williamson (1889-91); numerous additions in the Proceedings of local archæological societies. The much less important tokens produced in these islands (not always without an eye on the collector) in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are described, with the same object, by J. Atkins, *Tradesmen's Tokens of the Eighteenth Century* (1892); R. Dalton and S. H. Hamer, *Provincial Token Coinage of the Eighteenth Century* (1910-17); and W. J. Davis, *Nineteenth-Century Token Coinage* (1904). F. P. Barnard's *Casting-Counter and Counting-Board* (Oxford, 1916) deals very thoroughly with an interesting side-issue of numismatics with some bearing on commerce in Europe from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries (full bibliography).

The currency of the **British colonies** is discussed from the economic point of view by R. Chalmers, *History of Currency in the British Colonies* (1893). J. Atkins's *Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and*

Colonies of the British Empire (1889) is merely a collector's handbook.

The **American colonies** receive special treatment in the books mentioned below; see also P. Nelson, "Coinage of William Wood for the American Colonies" (*B.N.J.*, i., 1905).

America.—For the States see M. W. Dickeson, *American Numismatical Manual* (Philadelphia, 1859); S. S. Crosby, *Early Coins of America* (Boston, 1878), and the files of the *A.J.* Both North and South America are covered by A. Weyl's catalogue of the *Jules Fonrobertsche Sammlung überseeischer Münzen und Medaillen*, Parts I. to III. (Berlin, 1877–8). For Spanish and independent Central and South America see A. Rosa, *Monetario Americano* (Buenos Aires, 1892); the works of J. Meili, especially *Das brasilianische Geldwesen* (Zürich, 1897–1905); A. Herrera, *El Duro* (above, under Spain); and J. T. Medina, *Medallas y monedas chilenas* (Santiago de Chile, 1901–2), and *Las monedas obsidionales hispano-americanas* (Santiago de Chile, 1919).

India, Persia, etc.—The invaluable summary of Indian numismatics as one of the sources of Indian history down to the fourteenth century, by E. J. Rapson ("Indian Coins" in G. Bühler's *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, Bd. ii., Strassburg, 1898) is provided with very full bibliographical references up to date. The follow-

ing publications of later years may be mentioned: *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, I., by V. A. Smith (Oxford, 1906). *Catalogue of the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, I., "Indo-Greek Coins," by R. B. Whitehead (Oxford, 1914). British Museum Catalogues: *Andhra Dynasty, Western Kṣatrapas, Traikūṭaka, and "Bodhi" Dynasties*, by Rapson (1908), and *Gupta Dynasties and Śaśāṅka, King of Gauda*, by J. Allan (1914).

Nothing of importance on the Sassanian coinage of Persia has appeared recently, except J. de Morgan's study, "Des ateliers monétaires sous la dynastie des rois sassanides de Perse" (*R.N.*, 1913).

On later non-Muhammadan series we may note E. H. Walsh, "Coinage of Nepal," in *Journal R. Asiatic Soc.*, 1908, and J. Allan, "Coinage of Assam," in *N.C.*, 1909.

For the Muhammadan period, reference should be made to the bibliography in O. Codrington's *Manual of Musalman Numismatics* (Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1904). The catalogues of the Indian Calcutta Museum (vols. ii. and iii., *Sultans of Delhi and Mughal Emperors*, by H. Nelson-Wright, Oxford, 1907-8), of the Panjab Museum, Lahore (vol. ii., *Mughal Emperors*, by R. B. Whitehead, Oxford, 1914) and of the Lucknow Museum (*Mughal Emperors*, by C. J. Brown, Oxford, 1920), are now available. R. B. Whitehead's "Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors" (*Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*,

1912) is most valuable for the Mughal period. Articles on Indian coins appear regularly in the Numismatic Supplement to the last-mentioned journal, from 1904.

The literature of the **Muhammadan** coinages of other countries has not received any important additions since the publication of Codrington's manual. We note, however, E. von Zambaur's "Contributions à la numismatique orientale" in *N.Z.*, 1904, 1906, 1914.

The Far East.—J. H. S. Lockhart's *Currency of the Farther East* (Hong-Kong, 1895–98) and his *Catalogue* of his own collection (Shanghai, 1915) give illustrations of all the chief coinages. The British Museum *Catalogue of Chinese Coins*, by Terrien de la Couperie (1892), covers only the period from the seventh century B.C. to A.D. 621. L. C. Hopkins's important discussion of this author's theories ("On the Origin of Chinese Coinage," in *Journ. R. Asiatic Soc.*, 1895) should be consulted. The great native work is Ku-Ch'uan Huei, 15 vols. (1852). G. Vissering, *On Chinese Currency, Coin, and Paper Money* (Leyden, 1877) is important. W. Vissering, *On Chinese Currency* (Amsterdam, 1914), and S. R. Wagel's *Chinese Currency and Banking* (Shanghai, 1915), on the other hand, are chiefly concerned with finance. J. A. Decourdemanche deals with Eastern metrology in his *Traité des monnaies, mesures et poids anciens et modernes de*

l'Inde et de la Chine (Paris, 1913). N. G. Munro's *Coins of Japan* (Yokohama, 1904) is popular (bibliography of native authorities, p. 265); and E. de Villaret's "Numismatique japonaise" (*R.N.*, 1892) is well illustrated. C. T. Gardner has described the coinage of Corea in *Journ. of China Branch of R. Asiatic Soc.*, xxvii. (Shanghai, 1892-3). For Annam reference may be made to D. Lacroix, *Numismatique annamite* (Saigon, 1900), and A. Schroeder, *Annam, études numismatiques* (Paris, 1905).

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Many of the books mentioned under Coins describe medals also; these are not repeated in this list, from which also monographs on individual artists or groups of medals, as well as many older books, are excluded for lack of space.

Collective Works.—*Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique*, edited by P. Delaroche, H. Dupont, Ch. Lenormant (Paris, 1834-41) [Italian and German Medals of the Renaissance, Papal to Gregory XVI., and French from Renaissance to First Empire]. G. F. Hill, *Medals of the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1920) [Italian, German, French, Netherlandish, British; from the artistic point of view; bibliography]. The excellent international periodical, *Archiv für Medaillen- und Plaketten-Kunde* (Halle-a.-S., 1913-4), suspended during the war, is to be continued.

Italian.—A. Armand, *Les Médailleurs italiens des quinzième et seizième siècles* (Paris, vols. i., ii., second edition, 1883; vol. iii., 1887) [unillustrated: contains also many French medals]. A. Heiss, *Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1881–92). C. von Fabriczy, *Medaillen der italienischen Renaissance* (Leipzig, no date; English translation by Mrs. Hamilton, 1904) [artistic]. P. Rizzini, *Illustrazione dei Civici Musei di Brescia, Parte ii.* [Italian Medals, fifteenth to eighteenth centuries] (Brescia, 1892). P. Bonanni, *Numismata Pontificum Romanorum* [from Martin V. to 1699] (Rome, 1699).

German.—K. Domanig, *Die deutsche Medaille in kunst- und kulturhistorischer Hinsicht* [based on the Vienna Collection] (Vienna, 1907). G. Habich, “Studien zur deutschen Renaissance-Medaille,” in progress in *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen* from 1906 [artistic]. The same, *Die deutschen Medailleure des xvi. Jahrhunderts* (Halle-a.-S., 1916) [artistic, summary, bibliographies]. J. Bergmann, *Medaillen auf berühmte und ausgezeichnete Männer des Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaates* (Vienna, 1844–57). K. Domanig, *Porträtmedaillen des Erzhauses Oesterreich* (Vienna, 1896). Berlin, Königliche Museen, *Schaumünzen des Hauses Hohenzollern* (Berlin, 1901). W. E. Tentzel, *Saxonia numismatica* (Dresden, 1705–14).

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Danske Medailler og Jetons fra 1789–1892 (Norges til 1814, Slesvig og Holstens til 1864) (Copenhagen, 1893).

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America.—C. W. Betts, *American Colonial History illustrated by Contemporary Medals* (New York, 1894). J. T. Medina, *Medallas coloniales hispano-americanas* (Santiago de Chile, 1900); *Las Medallas Chilenas* (Santiago de Chile, 1901); *Medallas de Proclamaciones y Juras de los Reyes de España en América* (Santiago de Chile, 1917); and *Las Medallas del Almirante Vernon* (Santiago de Chile, 1919).

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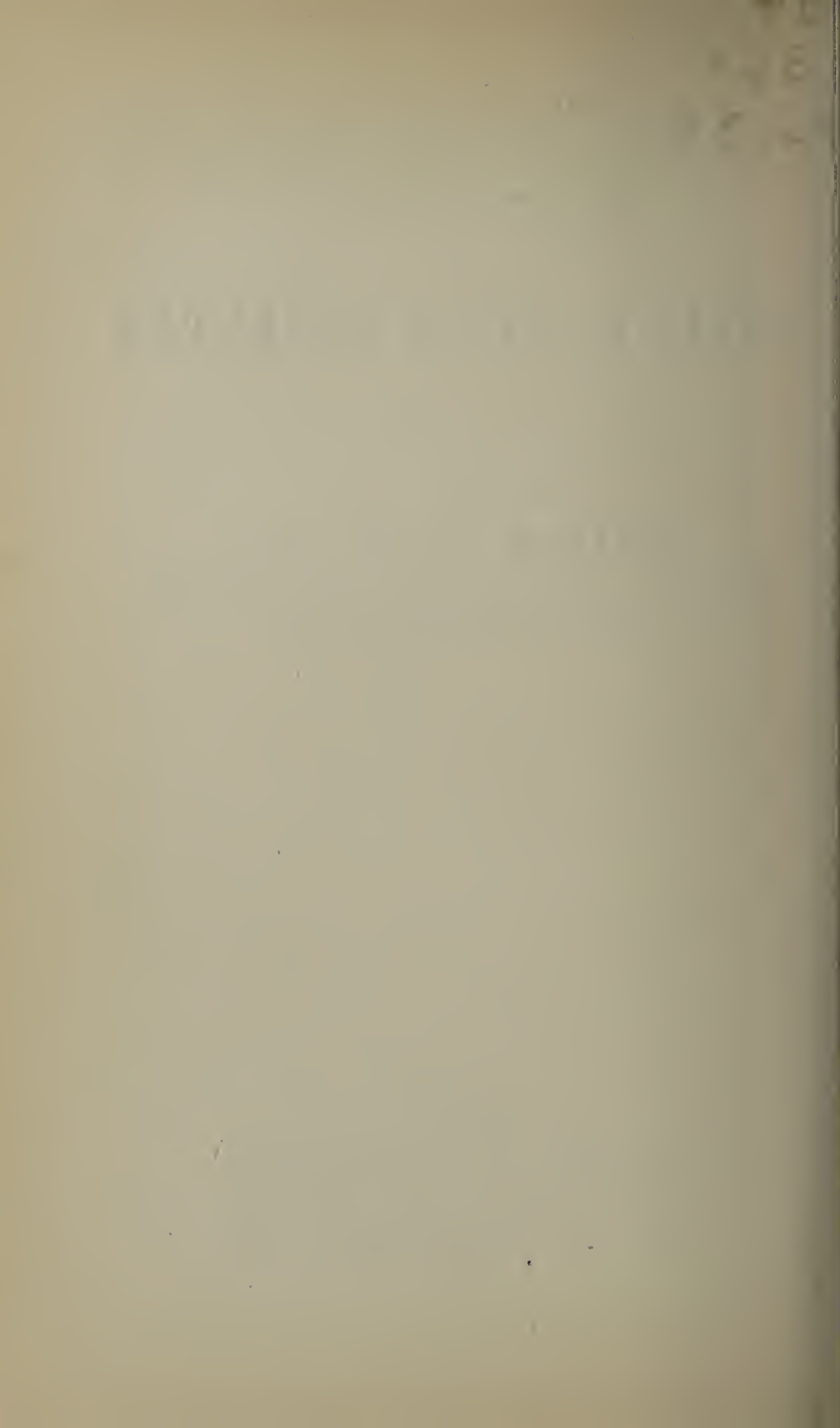
THE LATIN ORIENT

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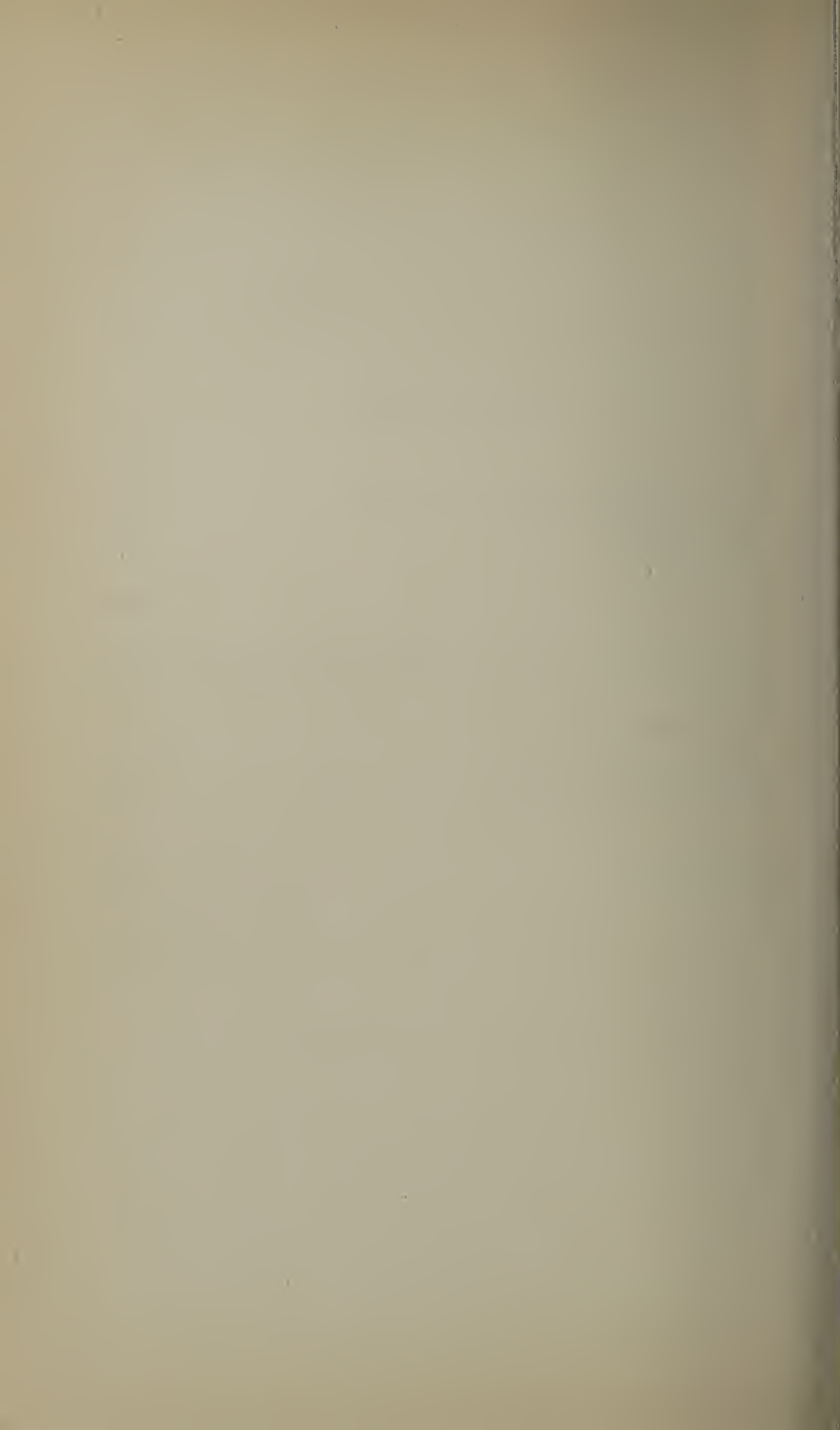
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THE LATIN ORIENT

THE Latin States, which arose in the Middle Ages in the Near East, may be divided into six groups:

1. The Crusading States in Palestine, which were the offspring of the First Crusade, and comprised:

(a) The Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099–1291).

(b) The Principality of Antioch (1098–1188; the city till 1268).

(c) The County of Edessa (1098–1144).

(d) The County of Tripolis (1102–88; the city till 1289).

2. The Kingdom of Cyprus, which, founded by an accident, nominally continued the Kingdom of Jerusalem till it ended as a Venetian colony (1191–1571).

3. The Frankish States, which sprang from the ruins of the Greek Empire as the result of the Fourth Crusade.

(a) The Latin Empire of Constantinople, or of Romania (1204–61).

(b) The Latin Kingdom of Salonika (1204–23).

(c) The Duchy of Athens (1205–1460).

(d) The Principality of Achaia (1205–1432).

(e) The County Palatine of Cephalonia (1194–1483).

(f) The Duchy of the Archipelago (1207–1566).

4. The Venetian Colonies in Greece and Albania:

(a) Crete (1205–1669; two Cretan forts till 1715).

(b) Negroponte (1209–1470).

(c) The Ionian Islands (1206–14; and various dates from 1386 to 1797).

(d) The Ægean Colonies: Tenedos, Tenos, Mykonos, Ægina, Northern Sporades, etc. (1375–83; and various dates from 1390 to 1715).

(e) The Colonies in Northern Greece: Pteleon, Lepanto, Salonika (various dates from 1323 to 1470).

(f) The Colonies in the Morea: Modon, Coron, Nauplia, Monemvasia, etc. (various dates from 1206 to 1540).

(g) The Venetian Revival in the Morea (1685–1715).

(h) The Albanian Colonies (1205–15; and various dates from 1392 to 1571).

5. The Genoese Colonies:

(a) The Black Sea Colonies: Caffa, La Tana, Balaclava, Soldaja, etc. (various dates from c. 1250 to 1475).

(b) Smyrna (1261–c. 1300; 1344–1402).

(c) Phocæa, Chios, Samos, and Ikaria (various dates from 1275 to 1340; 1346–1566).

(d) Lesbos (1333–36; 1355–1462).

6. The Knights of Rhodes (1309–1522).

Thus, in one place or another, Latin domination subsisted in the Near East from the creation

of the County of Edessa in 1098 to the fall of Venice and the consequent loss of the Ionian Islands in 1797. Even then French rule existed intermittently in some or all of the Ionian Islands till 1814; in 1912 Italy occupied Rhodes and twelve other islands of the Lower Ægean, and in 1914 re-established herself at Valona, which Venice had held in 1690-91. Latin rule also took various forms: sometimes that of a feudal State, of which the Principality of Achaia is the best example; sometimes that of a colony, such as Crete; while at Rhodes it presented that of a military and religious Order, and at Chios the more modern type of a joint-stock, chartered company. But everywhere it had to face the difficult problem of governing a race of different political aspirations and different religion, which, in the Near East, is intermixed with politics. Except in a few cases, such as the Gattilusj of Lesbos, the Latin rulers remained to the last aliens, whose hold over their subjects was an artificial and unnatural creation of an age which regarded the Near East much as our generation regards Africa—as so much territory to be partitioned among European races. Consequently, to Greek writers, the Crusades assumed a very different aspect from that which they presented to Western historians, and the Turk was often welcomed by the subject populations as a relief from the Latin oppressor. The whole history of Greece under foreign domination, even when that domination was at its lightest and best, as in the case of the British

in the Ionian Islands and Cyprus, teaches that the Hellenes, like most people, prefer even a less competent Government of their own to the most benevolent administration of aliens in race, religion, and traditions. But there is no more romantic episode in history than that commemorated in the second part of "Faust," which wedded the feudal system with biblical and classical lands, giving us Princes of Galilee and Princes of Achaia, Viscounts of Nazareth and Dukes of Athens.

1. THE CRUSADING STATES IN PALESTINE

THE earliest Crusading State was the County of Edessa, the modern Urfa, founded by Baldwin I. in 1098, and at the time of the Latin conquest still ruled by a Greek Governor. Its brief existence was passed in a continuous state of war, and its boundaries, which extended beyond the Euphrates, were never fixed. The Principality of Antioch had also, only fourteen years earlier, formed a nominal part of the Greek Empire, and it could, therefore, scarcely be wondered if the Greek princess Anna Comnena looked askance upon the crusaders, whose culture was far inferior to that of the Byzantine Court, and who, on their way to liberate the Holy Sepulchre from the Infidels, mapped up the territories of Orthodox Christians. The Latin sovereigns of Jerusalem, however, the first of whom was too modest to take the title of king, were mostly above the average in character and intelligence. Godfrey of Bouillon and his first two successors were elective rulers, and it was not till 1131 that the monarchy became hereditary. Society was constructed upon feudal lines; the "Assizes of Jerusalem" formed a feudal code, from which Cyprus and Achaia subsequently

borrowed their organization, but the coexistence of four practically independent States—for, although the Counts of Tripolis were always lieges of the King of Jerusalem, the Princes of Antioch and the Counts of Edessa merely recognized him as first of their equals—formed one cause of the Frankish failure to hold Palestine against a well-organized enemy, directed by one man of consummate ability. Frankish Jerusalem was a limited monarchy, whose head had to consult his parliament of magnates and whose policy was often undermined by their mutual jealousies. In Latin Palestine, as in Frankish Greece, some inscrutable law of population made many baronial families consist exclusively of daughters, and, as the Salic Law did not prevail in the Holy Land, female influence was a great factor in its government, partly because it interfered in appointments, and partly because the number of eligible heiresses encouraged penniless adventurers, whose face was their fortune.

A peculiarity of society in the Crusading States was the much greater prominence of the middle class than in contemporary France and England. The Crusades were a commercial as well as a religious and military undertaking; indeed, even before the first of them, there was an Italian colony from Amalfi at Jerusalem; colonies from Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Marseilles followed; we even find an “English quarter” at Acre. As the aristocracy became diminished by the constant wars, the wealthier members of the trading class were

admitted into its ranks, while, on the other hand, mixed marriages were commoner in the *bourgeoisie* owing to their closer contact with the natives. Hence arose a race of half-castes, known as *poulains* in Palestine and *gasmouïloi* in Greece, who usually combined the vices, rather than the virtues, of both stocks. Contemporary writers like Jacques de Vitry depict the *poulains* in very unflattering colours, as effeminate, luxurious, idle, timid, and despised by the Saracens, with whom they were inclined to make peace and from whom they were ready to accept aid against their fellow-Christians. They not only discouraged the arrival of fresh bodies of Crusaders, because war interfered with their business, but, having no illusions about the Holy Land themselves, by their lives and sharp practices disillusioned the enthusiastic pilgrims. Their dress and manners were Oriental, their motto: *Ubi bene, ibi patria*. Of a true country they were as destitute as any Levantine, who can speak six languages but call none his own.

Except in wartime Christians and Moslems lived in harmony, and Frank barons and Moslem emirs were sometimes friends and even adopted brothers. Many Franks spoke Arabic, and some of their towns bore the name of Mohammed in Arabic for the better furtherance of business. Turks, as distinct from Moslem Arabs, were few, as were the Jews, who formed, as usual, an exclusively urban population. Benjamin of Tudela found two hundred of his countrymen in the ghetto at Jerusalem,

but only twelve at Bethlehem. Tyre and Acre, the chief commercial centres, had the largest Jewish population, but all the Crusading States contained under 8,000 Jews, many of whom had come from the South of France. They could not own land, but were doctors and bankers, and at Jerusalem had the monopoly of the dyeing trade.

Palestine at the time of the Latin Kingdom was, indeed, a "promised land," where the vine, the olive, and the sugar-cane flourished although corn had to be imported. Upon the Sea of Galilee fishermen still plied their craft, but there were few Frankish peasants. The chief manufactures were silk, dyeing, pottery, and glass, and life was agreeable, if neither very intellectual nor very moral. The numerous castles which sprang up over the country, and the ruins of which still remain, were enlivened by minstrels and dancers; there was a considerable amount of high play in Court circles, and the brook Kishon witnessed tournaments, like that held in Frankish Greece upon the Isthmus of Corinth. Yet the Holy Land produced one historical masterpiece, the History of William of Tyre, who dared to record the deeds and misdeeds of his own contemporaries, men whom he had known intimately during his long career as diplomatist, churchman, royal tutor, and chancellor. The nobles beguiled their leisure with French romances, and a knowledge of law was common among them. But the practice of pardoning criminals on condition that they made a pil-

grimage to the Holy Land and stayed there tended to make it a convict station, while the morals of Acre were notorious. These defects were enhanced by the tremendous background of Gospel history, against which even the best of men would have seemed a sinner.

That the Latin rule should have lasted for 99 years at Jerusalem—from 1099 to 1187—when Saladin's victory at Hattin caused its first fall, and from 1229, when Frederick II. recovered the Holy City by the "Bad Peace," to 1239, and from 1243 to 1244, when the Kharezmians recaptured it, and that, even then, it should have lingered on at Acre till 1291, seems extraordinary when we consider the smallness of the Frankish garrison. Like the British in India, the Franks were a mere handful of foreigners in the midst of a mass of native races. The paper strength of the royal army was only 577 knights and 5,025 foot-soldiers, besides the great Military Orders of the Knights of St. John and the Templars, and the *turcoples*, or Moslem light cavalry. At Hattin Guy de Lusignan commanded no more than 21,000 men; Baldwin I. had only 80 knights when he marched upon Edessa. But in the early days—and the Crusading States reached their greatest extension in 1131, when they stretched from El Arîsh "the river of Egypt," and Akaba the "Eloth" of the First Book of Kings, to Mardîn and Schabachtana—the Franks were clean-livers and courageous, while their opponents were im-

moral, unwarlike, and disunited. In Saladin's time the case was reversed; disunion sterilized the courage of our Richard I. in his attempt to recover what had been lost; Frederick II. was a Crusader without faith and against his will; the Crusades of the saintly Louis IX. and of our soldierly Prince Edward were failures; and, after the fall of Antioch before Beibars, the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, and the capture of Jaffa, the Kingdom of Jerusalem became a mere skeleton, albeit decked out with all the pomp and circumstance of royalty at Tyre, the coronation city, and with all the wealth of commerce at Acre, the royal residence. Even long after the last vestige of the kingdom had been lost by the capture of the two castles of Tortosa and Château Pèlerin, the Kings of Cyprus assumed the crown of Jerusalem at Famagosta. From Queen Charlotte in 1485 the title passed to the House of Savoy, the present Italian dynasty, and an Italian poet described the Liberation of Jerusalem—an aspiration accomplished again in 1917, after a Moslem occupation of 673 years, by a British force.

2. THE KINGDOM OF CYPRUS

CYPRUS, since 1878 practically and since 1914 legally, a British possession, owed its erection into a kingdom to an English sovereign. Richard I., on his way to the Holy Land in 1191, learning that the ship which carried his sister and his *fiancée* had been inhospitably treated by Isaac Comnenus, the self-styled "Emperor" of Cyprus, landed at Limassol, speedily conquered the island, with the assistance of Guy de Lusignan, and left two justiciaries of his own as its governors, with an English force. An insurrection against the English was easily suppressed, but Richard, intent on the siege of Acre, sold the island to the Templars, who proposed to "exploit it as they exploited their Syrian villages." But a Cypriote rising sufficed to convince the Templars that to govern the island on those principles would require larger powers than they possessed. They handed it back to Richard, from whom, in 1192, Guy de Lusignan, having lost all chance of recovering the crown of Jerusalem, after the election of Henry, Count of Champagne, purchased Cyprus on the same terms, and founded a dynasty, which lasted for nearly three centuries. It is remarkable that his first act was to ask his former captor, Saladin, for his

advice as to the best means of keeping his new kingdom, or "lordship," for this ex-King of Jerusalem styled himself "Lord of Cyprus."

Cyprus was a Greek island, but during the whole Frankish period its history was, except at rare intervals, completely detached from that of the rest of the Hellenic world and possessed special features of its own. It falls naturally into three epochs—that of prosperity down to the death of Peter I. in 1369, that of decline down to 1489, and that of dependence as a Venetian colony. The first Lusignan sovereign laid the foundations of the feudal system in the island; the Franks became predominant in Church and State, the well-to-do Greeks were reduced to vassalage, the Greek peasants to serfdom. His brother and successor, Amaury, completed his work, organizing the Latin Church, introducing the feudal code of Jerusalem, and striving to weaken the power of the nobles, none of whom had the right of coinage, exercised by some of the barons in Palestine and Greece and by the knights of Rhodes. Thus Cyprus differed from all those countries in character: it was essentially a commercial, not a military, monarchy, more independent of the aristocracy and far more defensible than Jerusalem. Anxious to increase his authority, Amaury persuaded the German Emperor to bestow upon him in 1197 the title of "King of Cyprus," to which he added in 1198 the vain honour of "King of Jerusalem" by his marriage with the widowed Queen Isabella. This latter title, how-

ever, passed from the Cypriote crown at his death in 1205, and was not reunited with it till 1269. This double accession of nominal dignity proved to be injurious to the real interests of Cyprus, for the former distinction, involving the German Emperor's suzerainty, led to the civil, or "Lombard" war between the Germanophil, or "Lombard" party, and the Nationalists, while the latter involved the Kings of Cyprus in Syrian politics until the fall of Acre in 1291. That event was a blessing in disguise to the Cypriotes, just as the loss of their sovereign's French possessions was to the English, because the Kings of Cyprus had no further need to concern themselves with the affairs of the phantom realm of Jerusalem, and consequently their island, like England after the French wars, grew more and more prosperous. Commercial concessions, however, first to the Genoese and then to the Venetians, proved fatal to the national interests, because they enabled those powerful mercantile communities to become the real and, at last, the legal rulers of the island, just as, in our own day, commercial monopolies, granted to foreigners, have enabled them to obtain great influence in small Balkan States. With the accession of Peter I., the most valiant of the Lusignans, Cyprus embarked upon a foreign policy of adventure, which contrasted with the concentration of the two previous generations in home affairs. His intervention in Cilicia won for Cyprus till 1448 the fortress of Gor'igos, and the offer of the

crown of Lesser, or Cilician, Armenia, the scene of the recent massacres. In his zeal for the recovery of the Holy Land, he even travelled as far as London, and he was assassinated on his way to assume the Armenian throne. One of those futile questions of precedence, dear to diplomatists, which occurred at the coronation of Peter II. at Famagosta in 1372 led to a quarrel between the Genoese consul and the Venetian baily, the sack of the Genoese warehouses, and the King's capture by the indignant Genoese. Part of his ransom was the cession of Famagosta, the commercial capital of the island which, in Genoese hands, became the chief emporium of the Levant, and was secured in its monopoly by a clause in the treaty preventing the Kings of Cyprus from creating another port to compete with it. His uncle and successor, James I., then a hostage at Genoa, was not released till he had guaranteed the Genoese possession of this coveted place, and the loss of the richest city in Cyprus was scarcely compensated by the acquisition of the barren title of "King of Armenia" in 1393, on the death of Leo VI., the last native sovereign. Thenceforth the Kings of Cyprus wore the three crowns of Cyprus, Jerusalem, and Armenia, although of the former Armenian kingdom they held nothing except Gor'igos. James I.'s son Janus, born (as his name indicated) a captive at Genoa, was taken captive by the Sultan of Egypt, upon whose country he had encouraged piratical raids, and

the Cypriote treasury was thenceforth burdened by an Egyptian tribute.

In the next reign, that of John II., a new phenomenon, remarked also at the same time in the Morea, appeared—the revival of Hellenism. Of this the chief instrument was Queen Helen, daughter of the Greek “Despot” of Mistrâ, and the real power behind the Cypriote throne, who naturally favoured the claims of the Greek clergy to supremacy over the hitherto dominant Roman Church. On the death of John II. a Greek half-caste, the bastard James II., aided by the Sultan of Egypt, drove out the young Queen Charlotte and her feeble husband, Louis of Savoy, and in 1464 recaptured Famagosta (held since 1447 by the Genoese Bank of St. George), and thus abolished the Genoese commercial monopoly. But, if he had thus rid his country of one Italian Republic, he prepared the way for the intrusion of another by his marriage with Catherine Cornaro, niece of a wealthy Venetian sugar-planter resident in Cyprus and adopted daughter of Venice. His premature death, speedily followed by that of his posthumous child, James III., left his Venetian widow nominal Queen, but the Republic actual regent, till, in 1489, the latter acquired the nominal sovereignty of the island also.

When Cyprus became a Venetian colony, its prosperity was already on the downgrade. It was still burdened with the Egyptian tribute, as was British Cyprus with the Turkish tribute before

1914; its salt-pans alone were productive of revenue, and the Venetians in vain tried by colonization to remedy its barrenness and depopulation. The Venetian administration was unpopular; its tithe policy was harsh; it exacted forced labour from the people, while the descendants of the old French nobility treated their serfs as slaves. These facts explain the welcome accorded by the Greeks to the Turks when, in 1570, a Turkish fleet appeared off the island. Nikosia, the Venetian capital, speedily fell, but Famagosta held out till August 1, 1571, and then yielded only to famine. The last days of Venetian Cyprus, like those of Venetian Negroponte, were ennobled by the heroism of Famagosta's heroic defender, Bragadino, who was flayed alive. The Greeks found that they had only exchanged one fiscal tyranny for another more rapacious, but Cyprus remained Turkish till the Convention of 1878 placed it under the administration of a colonial Power greater and juster than Venice, but hampered with similar difficulties.

3. THE FRANKISH STATES IN GREECE

THE Frankish States in Greece were, with one exception (the island county of Cephalonia), the products of the Fourth Crusade, which was diverted from its ostensible object to the conquest and partition of the Byzantine Empire. Although the Latin Empire, which replaced the Byzantine at Constantinople, lasted only fifty-seven years, some of the other Frankish and Venetian creations, which sprang from this Crusade, lasted for over two and even three centuries, and survivals of them may still be found in the descendants of Italian families among the Cyclades.

*(a) The Latin Empire of Constantinople, or of
Romania.*

The Latin Empire, of which Baldwin, Count of Flanders, was the first Emperor, lay almost wholly outside the limits of Greece. The deed of partition had assigned to the Latin Emperor one-fourth of the Byzantine Empire, but many of his possessions existed only on paper. In Asia Minor large territories were awarded to him, but before he had time or force to occupy them, two Greek Empires, those of Nice and Trebizond, had arisen there, of which the latter survived by eight years the

Turkish conquest of Constantinople, and the former in the second generation submerged the ephemeral Latin throne, and developed into the restored Byzantine Empire. Baldwin I. might create one of his magnates, Count Louis of Blois, who was nephew of the King of England, Duke of Nice, and another, Etienne du Perche, Duke of Philadelphia; but those Frank duchies lasted but one season. By the irony of fate the Bulgarians, those eternal enemies of the Greeks, saved the Hellenism of Asia Minor by their attack upon the Latin Empire in Europe; the only French Duke of Nice fell in an ambushade before Philippopolis, which had been erected into another Flemish duchy under Renier de Trit; Baldwin was captured by the victorious Bulgarians, and to this day his end is uncertain. A ruined tower of Trnovo, the medieval Bulgarian capital, preserves the name of the first Latin Emperor. The Latin Empire in Europe probably extended as far west as the River Nestos, the boundary of the modern Greek kingdom fixed in 1913; while of the islands which fell to the Imperial share the most important from its strategic position was Lemnos, whose feudal lords, the Venetian Navigajosi, bore with the title of Grand Duke the dignity of Lord High Admiral of Romania. But alike in Asia Minor and in Thrace the Latin Empire speedily shrank. Baldwin's brother and successor, Henry, the ablest of the Latin Emperors, had to face the difficulties of organizing the new Empire ecclesiastically and politically, and already the

numbers of the Latin conquerors began to decline. Many returned to their native lands; many who remained were childless, or had only female children, and this, combined with the tendency of the returning exiles to give their newly-acquired fiefs to the Roman Church, threatened to deprive the new Empire of its defenders, and called for rigorous measures against such bequests. The creation of the Lombard Kingdom of Salonika led to an awkward question of suzerainty with the Emperor and provided the Greeks with the unedifying spectacle of Latin disunion; while in Epeiros Michael I., a bastard of the House of Angelos, had founded a "Despotat," or Principality, which formed the rallying-point of Hellenism in Europe, as the Empire of Nice was of Hellenism in Asia. Like his brother, Henry left no son, but was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Peter of Courtenay, who, while marching to Constantinople by land, was attacked by Theodore, "Despot" of Epeiros, and died in an Epeirote prison. His widow, Yolande, acted as regent till her death, when her second son, Robert, arrived to take the Imperial crown. Upon the succession of his younger brother, Baldwin II., a mere boy, the situation of the Empire was so critical that John of Brienne, formerly King of Jerusalem, was appointed Emperor for life, but that octogenarian warrior could not prevent the decline of an Empire which, like that of the Palaio-logoi two centuries later, had shrunk to the narrow limits of the capital and a small strip of territory

round it. Baldwin II. was the last of the Latin Emperors who actually reigned. He raised money by pawning relics, of which Byzantium was then more productive than of military qualities; but his Empire existed merely because of the mutual rivalries of the Bulgarians, then the dominant Power in the Balkans (who swallowed up the Flemish duchy of Philippopolis in 1235), of the Greeks of Nice and of the Greeks of Epeiros, the last of whom had conquered the Latin Kingdom of Salonika in 1223, transformed it into a Greek Empire, but seen it merged in the stronger Nicene Empire in 1246 by the strong Emperor, John III. (Vatatzes). All idea of regaining what had been lost in Asia was abandoned; even in Europe the Nicene frontier was little more than twenty miles from the Latin capital. The successor of Vatatzes, Theodore II. (Laskaris), was a nervous "intellectual," and it was reserved for Michael VIII. (Palaiologos) and his general Strategopoulos to end the Latin Empire in 1261 and restore the Greek throne at Constantinople. Baldwin II. fled to Western Europe, where the barren title of Latin Emperor survived till the death of its last holder, Jacques de Baux, in 1383.

(b) *The Latin Kingdom of Salonika.*

The Greek lands in Europe were divided, with the exception of the islands bestowed upon the Latin Empire, between the Crusaders, whose leader was Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, and Venice.

Boniface became King of Salonika, and his kingdom, nominally dependent upon the Latin Emperor, embraced Macedonia, Thessaly, and much of Continental Greece, including Athens. Boniface proceeded to parcel out his dominions into fiefs, meeting with no resistance from the Greeks, whose only leader, Leon Sgouros of Nauplia, declined to imitate Leonidas by holding Thermopylæ. But of all the creations of the Fourth Crusade the Latin Kingdom of Salonika was the most fleeting, although Boniface, whose wife was widow of the Greek Emperor, Isaac II., endeavoured to cultivate the friendship of his Greek subjects. From the outset his and his Lombard nobles' reluctance to acknowledge the overlordship of the Latin Empire was a source of weakness, and his early death at the hands of the Bulgarians, who all but captured his capital, placed the young kingdom under the nominal rule of a boy of barely two years, the regency of a woman, and the real power of her baily, the ambitious Count of Biandrate. After his retirement and during the absence of the young king in Italy, Theodore Angelos of Epeiros easily occupied Salonika, which is last mentioned as Lombard in May, 1223. An attempt to recapture the kingdom failed, but the royal title figured in the heraldry of the West till 1320.

(c) *The Duchy of Athens.*

One of Boniface's trusted comrades, Othon de la Roche, a Burgundian noble, received, in 1205,

Athens and Thebes with the title of *Sire*, or, as his Greek subjects called him, *Megaskyr* ("great lord") and with a territory that would have seemed large to Athenian statesmen of classic times. The history of Frankish Athens falls into three periods (i.) the French, (ii.) the Catalan, (iii.) the Florentine. During the first, which lasted down to the Battle of the Kephisos in 1311, Athens was more prosperous than she had been, or was again, for centuries. As the reward of his aid, Othon received Nauplia and Argos as fiefs of the Principality of Achaia. His nephew and successor, Guy I., saw Thebes become once again a flourishing commercial city as it had been before the Sicilian invasion of 1147 where the silk manufacture was still carried on, and the defeat of Frankish Athens by Frankish Sparta at the Battle of "the Walnut Mountain" in 1258, and his subsequent summons before Louis IX. of France for a breach of the feudal code, led to his promotion by the latter to the rank of "Duke" of Athens—a name immortalized by Dante, Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Shakespeare, who by a poetic anachronism transferred to Theseus the title of the medieval rulers of the classic city. Under his grandson, Guy II., Frankish Athens reached its zenith of prosperity. The castle of St. Omer at Thebes, of which one tower still remains, could have contained an Emperor and his Court, and its walls were decorated with frescoes representing the conquest of the Holy Land. The Duke was "one of the noblest men in all Romania."

who was not a king, and eke one of the richest"; his coming of age was long remembered. The splendour of the Theban Court and the excellent French spoken at Athens struck visitors from the West. Guy II. was also regent of the Greek Duchy of Neopatras, the classic Hypate, and his authority thus stretched from the Morea to Thessaly. But he died without an heir of his body in 1308, and his cousin, Walter of Brienne, who succeeded him, fell, owing to his recklessness, in 1311, in the swamps of the Kephisos, before the Catalan Grand Company, which, after serving the Aragonese King of Sicily against the Angevins and the Greek Emperor against the Turks, had been peremptorily dismissed from his employ by the new Duke of Athens. Few Frankish nobles survived that fatal battle; their widows became the wives of the rough soldiers of fortune whom a single day's work had made masters of "the pleasaunce of the Latins."

The victors had no one in their ranks capable of ruling the duchy, which an extraordinary stroke of fortune had placed at their disposal. They soon realized that it would be to their advantage to connect their Greek conquest with some great reigning house, and naturally turned to their old employer, Frederick II. of Sicily, begging him to send one of his sons to rule over them. For the next sixty-five years the Sicilian dynasty provided absentee dukes for the Catalan Duchy of Athens, who were represented at Thebes, its capital, by a vicar-general. An elaborate system of local govern-

ment was introduced, the " Customs " of Barcelona supplanted the " Assizes of Romania," and Catalan became the official language. The Greeks were treated as an inferior race during most of the Catalan period; the Argive fortresses alone remained to the family of Brienne. Soon those doughty warriors, by conquering most of the former dominions of the Thessalian Angeloi, enabled their Sicilian lord to assume the double title of Duke of Athens and Neopatras, borne by the Kings of Aragon long after the two Catalan Duchies had passed away. In vain young Walter of Brienne sought to recover his lost heritage; he fell fighting against our Black Prince at Poitiers; his Argive castles and his Athenian claims descended to the family of Enghien, whose last representative sold Argos and Nauplia to Venice in 1388. Gradually, under pressure of the Turkish peril, the Papacy came to recognize the Catalan conquest and pronounce its benediction upon those " sons of perdition." But the new generation no longer possessed the martial qualities of the victors of the Kephisos, while the death of Frederick III. of Sicily, their Duke, in 1377, led to a disputed succession between his daughter and Pedro IV. of Aragon. The Sicilian party in the duchies found support from the Navarrese Company, a later reproduction of what the Catalans themselves had been, but the " castle of Athens," the famous Akropolis, held out for Pedro, who described it as " the most precious jewel that exists in the world, and such

that all the kings of Christendom together could in vain imitate." Meanwhile, the Acciajuoli of Florence had obtained lands and influence in the Morea, and from Akrocorinth Nerio Acciajuoli descended upon Athens and in 1388 occupied the "castle of Athens." The Catalans vanished from history almost as completely as the French had done; in truly modern fashion, a family of bankers succeeded to the men-at-arms, as the men-at-arms had succeeded to the men of noble birth. King Ladislaus of Naples conferred upon Nerio the title of "Duke" of Athens, but the Turkish capture of the Catalan County of Salona, the classic Amphissa, and the western, as the Marquisate of Boudonitza was the northern, bulwark of Athens, was a sign of the ultimate fate of his duchy.

The Greeks of Athens had now recovered their national consciousness, and upon Nerio's death the Metropolitan called in the Turks. Thereupon the governor of the "castle" summoned the Venetians of Negroponte, and Athens became, under the name of "Sythines," a Venetian colony, whose chief marvel was the "Church of St. Mary," the famous Parthenon, then a Catholic cathedral. Nerio's bastard, Antonio I., himself half a Greek, starved out the Venetian garrison, and by his statesmanship maintained amidst the rising tide of Turkish successes the practical independence of his Athenian Duchy. His Court in the Propylæa was the resort of Florentine families, and the Athenian history of the time abounds with Tuscan names. Athens

was herself again, the Arno and the Ilissos had met together. But Antonio's successors were not of his mettle, while the Turkish peril drew nearer. On June 4, 1456, the Turks occupied the town of Athens, but the Akropolis under Franco Acciajuoli held out till Thebes, with the rest of Bœotia, was offered to the Duke if he would surrender. Franco lingered on as "Lord of Thebes" till in 1460 the rumour of a plot to restore him to Athens made Mohammed II. order his execution. Thebes and the rest of Bœotia then became Turkish. The brief Venetian occupation of the city of Athens in 1466 and of the city and Akropolis by Morosini in 1687-88 were mere incidents in the long Turkish domination. But their ancestors and their monuments obtained for the Athenians from their cultured conqueror humane treatment and various privileges, which were some compensation for the loss of the brilliant Court and prosperity of the Frankish period.

(d) *The Principality of Achaia.*

Shortly before the capture of Constantinople, Geoffroi de Villehardouin, nephew of the Chronicler of the Conquest, had been driven by bad weather into the Messenian port of Modon. During the winter of 1204 he had aided a local magnate in one of those quarrels which characterized medieval Greece, and, seeing that the Morea was rich and defenceless, made his way to Boniface's headquarters and asked his old friend, Guillaume de

Champlitte, to aid him in conquering it, promising to recognize the latter as his overlord. The two comrades, with a handful of men, won the Morea in a single battle; here and there a resolute warrior held out—Sgouros at Corinth, Nauplia, and Argos; the three hereditary *archontes* of Monemvasia at that Greek Gibraltar; Chamaretos in Lakonia; Doxapatrês in his Arcadian castle—but Innocent III. could greet Champlitte as “Prince of all Achaia.” Champlitte, however, recalled home by the death of his brother, died on the way, and Villehardouin, acting as baily of the next-of-kin, organized the principality on feudal lines, and managed to prevent the heir from arriving within the time allowed by the feudal law. Thus by chicanery, punished in the next generation, he became Prince of Achaia. His elder son, Geoffroi II., increased the prosperity of the Morea; to his Court, with its retinue of “eighty knights with golden spurs,” cavaliers flocked from France; out of the confiscated funds of the clergy, who had refused to do military service for their fiefs, he built the castle of Chloumoûtsi, or Castel Tornese (so called from the *tornesi*, or coins of Tours, afterwards minted there), which still stands a noble ruin. The capital was at the present village of Andravida, when the Prince was not residing at La Crémonie, as the Franks called Lacedæmonia; Kalamata was his family fief. There his brother William was born, a crafty but reckless prince, the central figure of Frankish Greece, who inaugu-

rated his warlike reign by the capture of Monemvasia, built Mistrâ, the medieval Sparta, to overawe the Slavs of Taygetos and the restless Mainates; but by his third marriage with an Epeirote princess became involved in the mutual quarrels of the rival Greek States of Epeiros and Nice; was captured by the forces of the latter at the Battle of Pelagonia, and, in 1262, after three years' imprisonment, obtained his freedom by ceding to the then restored Byzantine Empire the three castles of Monemvasia, Maina, and Mistrâ. This fatal act, which paved the way for the restoration of Greek influence in the Morea, was debated at a High Court held at Nikli, a veritable "Ladies' Parliament," because the Battle of Pelagonia had left most of the baronies in the possession of the widows of the slain or the wives of the prisoners. In such an assembly conjugal sentiment naturally prevailed over reasons of State, despite the scriptural argument of the Duke of Athens, that "it were better that one man should die for the people." From that moment a Byzantine province, with its capital at Mistrâ, was established, and Frankish power began to decline.

The transference of the suzerainty over Achaia from the exiled Latin Emperor to Charles I. of Anjou and Naples in 1267 and the marriage of William's daughter, Isabella, to Charles's second son, by uniting the fortunes of the principality with the Neapolitan Angevins, were another cause of evil to the flourishing Frankish State.

Upon William's death in 1278 Charles I., an absentee, became both Prince and suzerain of Achaia, which he governed by deputies, who, when foreigners, were unpopular with the Frankish nobility, strongly attached to its privileges. The widowed Princess Isabella, however, married Florent d'Avesnes, brother of the Count of Hainault, in 1289, and he thus became Prince of Achaia. The Flemings were insolent, although the land waxed "fat and plenteous in all things"; nor were the Piedmontese, who came with Isabella's third husband, Philip of Savoy, more beloved. Upon the deposition of the Savoyard Prince and his wife by their suzerain the government relapsed to the Angevins of Naples, the Morea experienced the misfortune of a disputed succession, in which the Catalans of Athens took part, and the last Villehardouin princess died a prisoner in the Castel dell' Uovo at Naples. During the internal convulsions of the fourteenth century the Byzantine province grew stronger and was better governed than the Frankish principality, especially when, after 1348, it became the custom to send a younger member of the Imperial family as "Despot" for life to Mistrâ, whose splendid Byzantine churches still testify to its importance in the last century before the Turkish conquest. The two most flourishing cities of Greece were once more Athens and Sparta—the Athens of the Acciajuoli; the Sparta of the Palaiologoi. Meanwhile, just as the Catalans had won a duchy out of Athens, so

the Navarrese Company at the end of the fourteenth century obtained the Principality of Achaia, with Androusa in Messenia as their capital. After the death of Pedro de St. Superan, in 1402, his widow's nephew, the Genoese Centurione Zaccaria, deprived St. Superan's children of their birthright after the precedent of the first Villehardouin, and in 1404 received from the King of Naples the title of Prince of Achaia. It was reserved for Constantine Palaiologos (afterwards last Emperor of Constantinople) and his brother Thomas to end the Frankish principality. In 1430 Centurione bestowed upon Thomas what remained of it, together with his daughter's hand, merely retaining his family barony of Kyparissia and the princely title. In 1432 he died, leaving a bastard to dispute the Greek claims. But the Greek reconquest came too late: in 1461 the last vestige of Greek rule over the Morea disappeared before the all-conquering Turk, whose arms stopped only at the boundaries of the Venetian colonies.

(e) *The County Palatine of Cephalonia.*

Even before the Fourth Crusade, in 1194, Matteo Orsini, an Apulian scion of the great Roman family, had made himself master of the islands of Cephalonia and Zante. After Venice occupied Corfù, in 1206, the Count of Cephalonia prudently recognized her suzerainty, and after her first disappearance from that island transferred his allegiance to the powerful Prince of Achaia. His son Richard,

successor of Odysseus in Ithaka, the medieval Val di Compare, which appears in a document of his reign by its classic name, played a conspicuous part alike in Corfù and Achaia, of which he was respectively captain-general and baily; his grandson, John I., was the villain *par excellence* of Frankish Greece. Another member of this unscrupulous family, Count Nicholas, by the murder of his nephew, the "Despot" Thomas of Epeiros, in 1318, extinguished the main line of the Angeloi, occupied Arta, assumed the name of "Angelo-Comnenos," the Orthodox religion, and the title of "Despot," only to fall by the hand of his brother, John II. Like the great criminals of the Italian Renaissance, this Hellenized Italian was a patron of Greek literature; at his command a paraphrase of Homer by Constantine Hermoniakos was composed (which has been published by Legrand*), while the present writer has seen in the famous Church of Our Lady of Consolation at "the Old Epeirote capital"† of Arta the two bears, which were emblems of their house, with an inscription recording the Orsini—one of the most curious monuments of the Latin Orient, which fulfils the Virgilian prophecy of the union of Italy and Epeiros. His luckless son was the last of the Orsini to rule over Epeiros, which then became partly Serbian and partly Albanian, while he was himself the last Orsini Count of Cephalonia, which, in 1324, was

* In *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire.*, vol. v.

† See the author's article in the *Morning Post* for May 16, 1908.

annexed by the Angevins to Achaia. In 1357, however, the county was bestowed by them upon Leonardo Tocco of Benevento, who united Levkas (or Sta. Mavra) with the other three islands, styling himself from it "Duke of Leucadia," and founded a family, which only became extinct at Naples by the death of the Duca della Regina in 1908. His son, Carlo I. (Tocco), revived the former continental dominion of the Orsini, and both he and his masterful wife, a daughter of the first Florentine Duke of Athens, were regarded as the leading figures of Frankish Greece. Froissart praised her magnificent hospitality and described her Cephalonian Court as a second fairyland. But upon his death, without legitimate sons, family dissensions introduced the Turks; Joannina fell in 1430, to remain Turkish till 1913; in 1479 the Turks annexed Leonardo III. (Tocco)'s four islands and Vonitza on the Ambrakian Gulf, his last fragment of continental territory. His brother, Antonio, temporarily recovered Cephalonia and Zante, but these islands fell ultimately into the hands of the Venetians. The Tocco family, however, continued to flourish in exile, if such it could be called, at Naples, and of it, alone of these Latin dynasties, there is preserved a series of family portraits.

(f) *The Duchy of the Archipelago.*

To the enterprise of private citizens was left the task of occupying the islands of the Ægean. In the Elizabethan manner, Marco Sanudo, a

nephew of the old Doge, Dandolo, with a band of kindred adventurers, descended upon the Cyclades, and at Naxos, in 1207, founded a duchy, which was, except Crete, the most durable creation of the Fourth Crusade. While he kept Naxos for himself, he assigned other islands to his comrades; thus the Barozzi obtained the volcano of Santorin, the Quirini Stampalia, the Ghisi Tenos and Skyros. Although a Venetian, Sanudo did homage to the Latin Emperor, Henry. Each insular baron built himself a feudal castle—of which we have an excellent specimen at Andros—sometimes, as in Paros, using classical buildings for the purpose in approved Latin style. The duchy was much crippled by the triumphant cruise of Licario, a Latin knight made Byzantine admiral; but the dynasties of Sanudo and Ghisi survived the Greek revival until, in 1390, the latter bequeathed Tenos and Mykonos to Venice, which held “the Pope’s island” of Tenos, as it was called from its large Catholic population, down to 1715, while in 1383 the murder of Niccolò dalle Carceri, a great Eubœan baron, who had inherited the Duchy of the Archipelago in the female line by his father’s marriage with the heiress of the Sanudo family, installed the usurper, Francesco Crispo, a Lombard of Veronese origin, on the ducal throne. The dynasty of Crispo lasted till the Turkish conquest in 1566, when this romantic State was conferred upon a Jewish favourite of the Sultan, Jeseoph Nasi, an absentee who governed the “isles of Greece” through another Jew,

Francesco Coronello. On Nasi's death, in 1579, the duchy was annexed to the Turkish Empire, but one petty Latin dynasty, the Gozzadini of Bologna, ruled over seven small islands as late as 1617. Nowhere in Greece has Latin rule left so many traces, in religion, race, and language, as in the former Duchy of the Archipelago. But to the last the Latins were a foreign garrison, and their differences with the Greeks did not disappear when they ceased to be a dominant minority.

4. THE VENETIAN COLONIES IN GREECE AND ALBANIA

(a) *Crete.*

BESIDES the Kingdom of Salonika, Boniface claimed possession of Crete, which the Emperor Alexios IV. had "given or promised" to him in 1203. Venice, on August 12, 1204, purchased from him "the great Greek island," and thus began the longest of her Greek acquisitions, and also the most costly. From the outset she had to fight with her rival Genoa, at whose instigation an adventurer, Enrico Pescatore, had landed in the island. When the Genoese danger had been dispelled, Crete was partitioned into fiefs of two kinds, one reserved for Venetian nobles, the other for Venetian burgesses, and divided administratively into six provinces, or *sestieri*, based upon the similar system still existing at Venice. In order to stimulate local patriotism the colonists of each province all came from the same division of the metropolis. At the head of the colony was a duke, appointed, according to the usual Venetian system, for only two years, and resident at Candia; he was assisted by two councillors and a greater and lesser council of the colonists. But in Crete Venice at once found that she had to reckon with the most warlike popu-

lation of the Levant. Insurrection succeeded insurrection, just as happened in the nineteenth century under the Turks. Venetians sometimes assisted the insurgents against their own mother-country; the first Duke of the Archipelago aspired to be "King of Crete"; and in 1363 the most serious of all Cretan risings was headed by Venetian colonists. Moreover, after the reconquest of the island from the Saracens by Nikephoros Phokas, the Byzantine Government had sent there a number of military colonists, whose descendants furnished leaders to the natives of that notoriously difficult country. There was, however, a long period of peace after this last insurrection, and as long as Cyprus was Venetian it was regarded as a bulwark of Crete. Meanwhile, the old feudal system of military service had fallen into abeyance, and when Foscarini was sent on his celebrated mission to reform abuses, vested interests and the Orthodox Church proved stubborn obstacles. The population diminished, the island cost more than it yielded, and the Cretans avowed their preference for Turkish rule. In 1669, after a war of nearly twenty-five years, "Troy's rival," Candia, fell, and only the three fortresses of Grabusa, the island in Suda Bay, and Spinalonga remained Venetian, the first till 1691, the two last till 1715. Venetian rule is still commemorated in Crete by many monuments; the most popular of later Greek poems, "Erotókritos," sprang from Venetian Crete, which was also the birthplace of the painter El Greco,

and the last days of Italian rule saw the birth of a Cretan drama, one work of which is adapted from a Latin tragedy by an English Jesuit. If Venice failed to govern Crete, she in that only resembled all other foreigners who have attempted the task, of which at last even European diplomacy has recognized the impossibility.

(b) *Negroponte.*

The long island of Eubœa, which from a corruption of the name of the Euripos, or channel separating it from the mainland, came to be called first "Egripos," and then from the accusative of that name with the article, "Negroponte," submitted to a Flemish Crusader, Jacques d'Avesnes, when the Crusaders made their march upon Athens, although the north and south of the island had been assigned to Venice by the deed of partition. Boniface thereupon divided the island into three fiefs, bestowed upon three gentlemen of Verona—Ravano dalle Carceri, his relative Giberto, and Pegoraro dei Pegorari—who assumed therefrom the name of *terzieri*, or "triarchs." In 1209, however, Ravano, who had become sole lord, thought it prudent to recognize the suzerainty of Venice, who appointed a baily to look after her commercial interests there. This official gradually became the arbiter of the whole island, which, in order to weaken the power of the Lombard nobles, was redivided, upon the death of Ravano in 1216, into sixths, on the analogy of Crete. The capital at Chalkis remained common

to all the "hexarchs," while Ravano's palace there became the baily's official residence, and the "Crutched Friars" of Bologna established a hospice. The succession to a Eubœan barony led to the fratricidal war between Frankish Athens and Frankish Sparta, mentioned above, and Licario, who did such harm to the Duchy of the Archipelago, was a knight of Karystos in the south of the island. The murder of Niccolò dalle Carceri in 1383 placed two Eubœan baronies under Venetian influence, but in 1470, through the culpable hesitation of her admiral, Canale, she lost, despite the heroism of Erizzo, sawn asunder by Mohammed II.'s orders, the whole island, which Morosini in vain attempted to recover in 1688.

(c) *The Ionian Islands.*

At the time of the Latin conquest of Constantinople, Corfù was, like Crete, threatened by a Genoese pirate, Leone Vetrano, but he was executed in 1206, and Venice, to whom the Ionian Islands had fallen as part of their share, established there next year ten Venetian nobles as colonists. This first Venetian colony of Corfù was, however, captured by the Greek "Despot" of Epeiros in 1214, and it was not till 1386, after a long period of Epeirote, Sicilian, and Neapolitan-Angevin rule, that Corfù became for the second time a Venetian colony, and so remained down to the fall of the Republic in 1797. Paxo, which formed a barony, was treated as part of Corfù, and the Republic

possessed on the mainland the continental dependencies of Butrinto, the famous Parga (from 1401), a few castles, and (after 1717) Prevesa and Vonitza. The Strivali Islands, the legendary home of the Harpies, were also under Venetian protection. Cephalonia and Ithaka, after the end of the Tocco dynasty, became Venetian from 1483 to 1485, but not permanently till 1500; Zante in 1482, although the Venetians paid tribute for it to the Turks from 1485 to 1699; Sta. Mavra, temporarily Venetian in 1502-3, was captured by Morosini in 1684, and thenceforth remained Venetian till 1797, except for its temporary abandonment in 1715-16, during the Turkish war. The seventh Ionian island of Cerigo, or Kythera, originally from 1207 a Venetian marquisate, belonging to the family of Venier, whose legendary ancestress, Venus, had arisen there from the sea, was made a Venetian colony in 1363, as a punishment for the part taken by the owners in the Cretan insurrection, but from 1393 onwards eleven out of the twenty-four shares into which the island was divided were held by Venice, who appointed the Governor, and the other thirteen by the Venier family, as 'partners' of the Republic. Venetian rule over the Ionian Islands has left a considerable mark upon them, especially upon Corfù and Zante, and had the merit of preserving one portion at least of the Hellenic world from the deadening Turkish rule. For Corfù, except when the Septinsular Republic was placed under the nominal vassalage of Turkey

in 1800, was never, and the other islands (except Sta. Mavra), practically never, Turkish throughout the long centuries when the rest of the Greek world formed a part of the Turkish Empire.

(d) *The Ægean Colonies.*

The two chief Venetian colonies in the Ægean were Tenos (1390–1715) and Mykonos (1390–1537), the former of which was long the only Venetian outpost in those waters. Under the Crispo dynasty, however, Venice became more and more predominant in the affairs of the duchy of the Archipelago, and twice actually took over the government of Naxos, Andros, and Paros in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, besides holding a part of Amorgos for a longer period. From 1451 to 1537 she was the successor of the Catalan family of Caopena in Ægina (which was temporarily recovered by Morosini but finally retaken by the Turks in 1715), and from 1453 to 1538 held the Northern Sporades. Tenedos, valuable from its strategic position at the mouth of the Dardanelles, was ceded to Venice in 1375 by the Emperor John V. (Palaiologos)—an act which provoked a revolution at Constantinople and the last great war between Genoa and Venice, who was forced in 1383 to abandon the island. Its fortifications were dismantled, and it was uninhabited in the next century. In 1306 Andrea Cornaro, a Venetian from Crete, made himself master of the islands of Karpathos and Kasos,

which, except for a brief usurpation by the Knights of Rhodes, remained in his family, under Venetian overlordship, till the Turkish conquest in 1538.

(e) *The Colonies in Northern Greece.*

In Continental Greece Venice made her first direct acquisition, that of Pteleon at the mouth of the Pagasæan Gulf, in 1323, upon the dismemberment of the dominions of the Angeloi in Thessaly. Pteleon remained hers till the Turkish conquest in 1470; the Marquisate of Boudonitza, near Thermopylæ, though not a Venetian colony, came by marriage into the possession of the Venetian family, the Zorzi, till the Turkish conquest in 1414; Athens belonged to the Republic from 1394 to 1402, and she acquired Lepanto, one of the keys of the Corinthian Gulf, whose tiara-shaped walls still recall her occupation, from the Albanian chief, Paul Boua Spata, in 1407, holding it down to 1499. More important still, the great city of Salonika was for the last seven years (1423-30) before the Turkish conquest a Venetian colony, having been sold by its Greek inhabitants to the only State which seemed able to protect them. The bargain proved, however, satisfactory to neither party. Their brief occupation cost the Venetians very dear and was very unpopular with the Greek notables, many of whom were deported by their "protectors," while many others voluntarily left.

(f) The Colonies in the Morea.

A large part of the Morea had been assigned on paper to the Venetians as the result of the Fourth Crusade; but, not being strong or foolish enough to occupy the whole of their share, they selected those places which would be most useful to their maritime trade. These were the two Messenian ports of Modon and Coron, stepping-stones on the route to the East, which a Venetian fleet captured in 1206 and the Republic retained till 1500. Their territory was extended so as to include Navarino, and there is a whole literature about them in the Venetian archives. No further acquisitions were made in the Morea till Venice, in 1388, purchased Argos and Nauplia from Marie d'Enghien. Argos remained Venetian till 1463, Nauplia and the rock of Monemvasia (the "Malmsey" of our forefathers), which became Venetian in 1464, were her last possessions for nearly a century and a half in the Morea, from which she was forced to retire in 1540. Twice in the early years of the fifteenth century (1408-13; 1417-19) she held the archiepiscopal city of Patras, the second key of the Corinthian Gulf, and later on for a short time she occupied Vostitza on the southern shore, and the indomitable Maina, whose inhabitants boasted themselves to be the descendants of the ancient Spartans. It was thus a characteristic of the Venetian colonies in the Morea that they were all on the sea, easily accessible and easily defended by a maritime Power.

(g) *The Venetian Revival in the Morea.*

It was not till the Turkish campaigns of Morosini that the "Kingdom of the Morea," as it was then called, became wholly Venetian. After capturing Sta. Mavra in 1684, Morosini, in 1685-87, reduced all the Morea, except Monemvasia, which held out, owing to its marvellous position, till 1690. While Morosini's capture of Athens in 1687 was merely ephemeral, although the damage done to the Parthenon was lasting, the Venetian occupation of the Morea down to 1715 had a permanent effect in compelling the Turks to treat their Greek subjects better, and in preparing a new generation of Greeks for the coming War of Independence a century later. Although Venetian administration was far superior to Turkish, Venice was neither popular nor regretted, and in 101 days all her Moreote possessions collapsed before the returning Turks. From the Peace of Passarovitz in 1718 she made no further attempts at fresh colonization.

(h) *The Albanian Colonies.*

The Venetian fleet, which conveyed Morosini, the first Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, in 1205 occupied Durazzo, which had been included in the Republic's share of the Byzantine spoils. A Venetian Governor with the title of "Duke" (as in Crete) was appointed, but the Greek "Despot" Theodore of Epeiros annexed this first Venetian colony of Durazzo about 1215, and it was not till

1392 that "the tavern of the Adriatic" again became Venetian. From that date began the Republic's Albanian colonization: in the next year she obtained Alessio near the mouth of the Drin; in 1396 the Balsha family, which had formed an independent State in what is now Montenegro, with Scutari as its capital, sold that important town, with the neighbouring castle of Drivasto (the modern Drishti), to her; in 1421 she occupied the present Montenegrin ports of Dulcigno and Antivari; in 1444 she completed her Albanian acquisitions by Dagno and Satti. Of these colonies Alessio, Drivasto, Dagno, and Satti were finally taken by the Turks in 1478, Scutari in the following year, Durazzo in 1501, and Antivari and Dulcigno in 1571, the year of the Battle of Lepanto. Valona, Italy's present possession in Albania, was never occupied by Venice except for six months in 1690-91, although "New" Epeiros, which included it, was held as a nominal fief of the Republic by the first Greek "Despot" of Epeiros by the treaty of 1210, because it had been assigned to her by the partition treaty and transferred to her by her *podestà* at Constantinople in 1205.

5. THE GENOESE COLONIES

(a) *The Black Sea Colonies.*

GENOA came into the colonial field much later than Venice; she took no part in the Fourth Crusade, and her piratical attempts in Corfù and Crete were unsuccessful. Although she began relations with the Byzantine Empire in the treaty of 1155, it was not till about a century later that she founded her first colony, Caffa, in the Crimea. The Treaty of Nymphæum in 1261, by which the Emperor Michael VIII. made the Black Sea trade a practically Genoese monopoly, naturally increased the prosperity of Caffa, which was sufficiently strong in 1289 to send help to the Genoese in the Holy Land. Temporarily captured by their Venetian rivals, and by their Tartar neighbours, Caffa was speedily restored, and to insure its welfare there was founded at Genoa in 1313 a special committee to look after Euxine affairs, called the "Office of the Gazaria" (the then name of the Crimea, derived from the tribe of Khazars), which elected a Consul of Caffa. Two local councils assisted him in the government of the colony, which comprised not only Genoese, but so many fugitive Armenians that the Crimea was known as "maritime Armenia." Later on he assumed

the title of "Consul of all the Gazaria," which included not only the subsequent Crimean colonies of Balaclava (fortified by the Genoese in 1357), Soldaja (acquired in 1365), and the coast between them, but also La Tana (the modern Azov), founded between 1316 and 1332, and on the south coast of the Black Sea Samsun and Samastri, first mentioned as Genoese colonies in 1317 and 1398 respectively. Besides these colonies, Genoa had a quarter in the capitals of the Greek Empires of Byzantium (at Galata) and Trebizond. Caffa thus became the capital of all the Euxine colonies, which at the end of the fourteenth century formed a considerable territory. But the expeditions of Timur injured their trade, a Greek prince occupied Balaclava in 1433, and the other Genoese colonies in the Crimea became tributary to the Tartars. The Turkish conquest of Constantinople isolated the Black Sea colonies from their metropolis; which, in 1453, ceded all of them to the Genoese Bank of St. George, which had already obtained Famagosta. But their end was at hand: Mohammed II., who had at first contented himself with a tribute, annexed Samastri in 1461 with the rest of the south coast, and in 1475 the rest of the Black Sea colonies.

(b) *Smyrna.*

The chief city of Asia Minor was given to Genoa in 1261 by the Treaty of Nymphæum, and was thus her first possession in the Ægean. But it

was taken by the Turks in 1300, and, although it again became Genoese in 1344, it was captured by the Mongols in 1402, and then again became Turkish.

(c) *Phocæa, Chios, Samos, and Ikaria.*

In 1275 Manuele Zaccaria, a member of that great Genoese family, received from the Emperor, Michael VIII., the alum-mines of Phocæa (or Foglia, as the Italians called it) on the north of the Gulf of Smyrna. His brother Benedetto, husband of the Emperor's sister, one of the boldest sailors and ablest negotiators of his time, occupied Chios in 1304, which he kept as a nominal fief of the Byzantine Empire. These two valuable possessions remained in the Zaccaria family till their reconquest by the Byzantines in 1340 and 1329 respectively. This first Genoese occupation was, however, only the harbinger of the much more durable colonization that was to come. In 1346 a Genoese privateering expedition under Vignoso, originally fitted out against the nobles, who had taken refuge at Monaco, recaptured Chios, old and new Phocæa, and the neighbouring islands of Psara (or Sta. Panagia), Samos, Ikaria, and the Cænousæ. The two Foglie as they were called), except for a brief Byzantine restoration, remained Genoese till they were conquered by the Turks in 1455; Samos and Psara were abandoned in 1475 from fear of corsairs; Zaccaria was granted to the Genoese family of Grangio in 1362 till 1481, when it was ceded to the

Knights of Rhodes. Chios remained under the administration of a chartered company, called a *maona*, a term found also in Cyprus and Corsica. The arrangement was originally temporary—until the Genoese could repay to Vignoso and his partners their expenses—and was, therefore, permanent. The Republic was, however, represented by a *podestà* and a *castellano*, annually selected; the colony coined money, but Chios was to be a free port for Genoese ships. The original company soon sold their shares to a new association of twelve who, collectively, formed an “inn” (*albergo*), and, abandoning their family names, called themselves “the Giustiniani.” Their shares became so much subdivided that at the last more than 600 persons held fractions of them. These arrangements worked so well that there was only one revolt against the mother-country, while by a system of Danegeld the *maonesi* long staved off the Turkish peril. Financially, the experiment of Chios was a success; there was more intellectual life there than in some parts of the Latin Orient; but from the standpoint of the Greeks the *maona* was not beloved.

(d) *Lesbos*.

Domenico Cattaneo of Phocæa, a Genoese, occupied Lesbos from 1333 to 1336, but it was not till 1355 that this rich island was bestowed as the dowry of his sister by the Emperor John V. (Palaiologos) upon Francesco I. (Gattilusio), the founder

of a dynasty which lasted till 1462. From about 1384 a junior branch of the family became possessed of Ænos in Thrace and, during the fifteenth century, the islands of Thasos, Lemnos, Samothrace, and Imbros, as well as old Foglia, were all governed by the Gattilusj. Of all the Latin dynasties in the Levant theirs was the most favourable to the Greeks; one alone of these Genoese rulers was unpopular, and we may trace their success to their connection with the Imperial family, which recommended them to their Greek subjects. They soon became Hellenized, spoke Greek in the first generation, quartered the arms of the Palaiologoi with their own, and took an interest in history, literature, and archæology.

6. THE KNIGHTS OF RHODES

RHODES, seized at the time of the break-up of the Byzantine Empire by a Greek magnate, Leon Gabalas, who styled himself "Cæsar," but reunited with the Nicene Empire, was captured from the Seljûks, the successors of the Greek Governors, by the Knights of St. John in 1309, who since the fall of the Holy Land in 1291, had found a refuge in Cyprus. Rhodes became the centre of their domain, which included the islands of Kos (or Langô), Kalymnos, Leros, Nisyros, Telos (or Piscopia), Syme (or Le Simmie), Chalke (or Limonia), Kastellorizon (the "Castel Rosso" of the Italians), Ikaria (after 1481), and great Delos (the ancient Rhenaia), and on the mainland (from 1389) the castle of S. Pietro (the modern Budrum), besides a brief usurpation of the islands of Karpathos and Kasos, the property of the Venetian family of Cornaro. They governed their islands, either directly, or indirectly as feudal baronies: thus Nisyros was long held by the Assanti of Ischia, while "Castel Rosso" was, in 1450, granted by Pope Nicholas V. to the King of Naples. This strange State, more military than religious, lasted till the Turkish conquest in 1522, despite the great siege of 1480. Mainly French in character—

fourteen of the nineteen Rhodian Grand Masters were from France—the Order was divided into eight “Tongues,” of which England (before the Reformation) was one. All the knights were noble, but their lives, at times, belied their origin and vows, and luxury characterized their rule. Rhodes, however, prospered materially from the booty amassed there, but the history of the smaller islands, as told by Bosio, the historian of the Order, is a record of Turkish raids, while the feudal rule of the Assanti was tyrannical. The knights have, however, left fine monuments behind them. It is interesting to note that Patmos (or Palmosa) was regarded since 1088 as a holy island, was never infested by corsairs, and, with its dependency, Leipso, formed no part of the knights’ dominions, although it enjoyed their protection, but paid tribute to the Turks as early as 1502.

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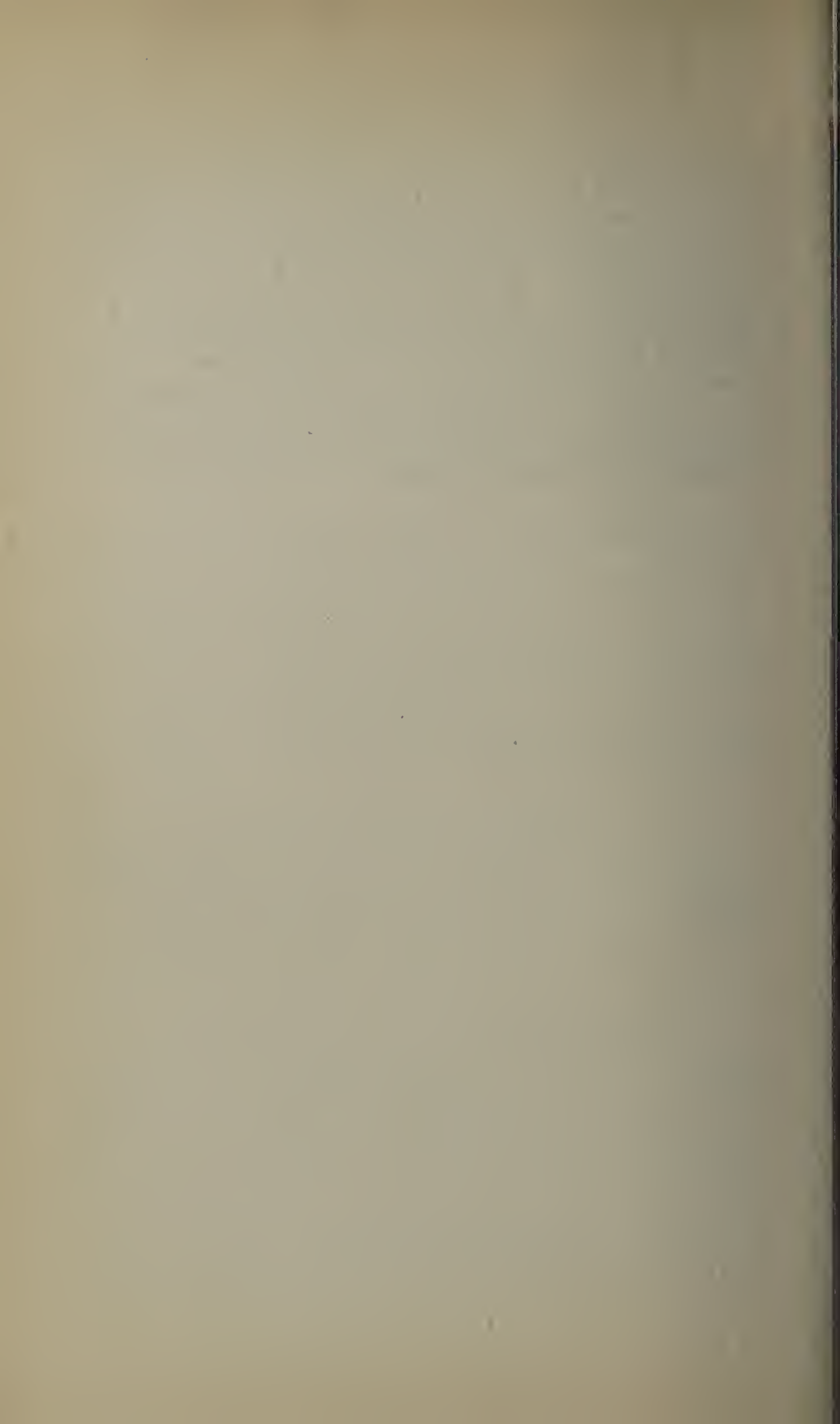
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THE TURKISH RESTORATION IN GREECE, 1718-1797

FROM the Peace of Passarovitz to the Russian invasion of the Morea in 1770 Greece enjoyed fully half a century of peace. Venice never again attacked Turkey, and Greece was too far off to be affected by the contests between the Turks and the Austrians and Russians. Two mild Sultans, Ahmed III. and Mahmûd I., ruled the Turkish Empire, and the Greek element in the Turkish administration was increasingly important. Greeks sat upon the Wallachian and Moldavian thrones, Greeks held the posts of Dragoman of the Porte and of the Fleet, and it had become politic to treat the Greek population better.

The Athenian teacher Joannes Benizelos has left us an account¹ of Athens at this period. "Athens," he wrote, "even under the Ottoman

¹ First published in 1815 by Perraivos in his *History of Souli and Parga*, and first ascribed to Joannes Benizelos (*fl.* 1774) by Sourmeles (Κατάστασις συνοπτική τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν, ed. 3, p. 72), who is followed by Philadelphus, Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, ii., 255 sqq.

yoke, was nevertheless in a good condition, and could be cited as an example to the other cities of Greece." He ascribes its good fortune to the "species of aristocracy," composed of the leading Greek families, which governed it. They met every day for the transaction of public business in the council chamber and every Monday at the Metropolitan's palace to decide cases with the Metropolitan. Every Friday they paid courtesy visits to the Turkish authorities, the *voivode* and the *cadi*; whenever political circumstances so required or Greeks had been imprisoned, they sent two younger men as "agents of the community" (*ἐπίτροποι*); but in more important cases, or if justice were denied, they went in a body to the *voivode*, who was "bound to treat them well and follow their opinion," otherwise he was liable to be turned out before the end of his annual term of office. They enjoyed the respect of their compatriots on account of their age and wisdom, and they merited it by their paternal government and pure and economical administration of the public money. "All trade was in the hands of the Greeks, for the Turks had neither capacity for nor knowledge of business, and owing to their small numbers and poverty were humbled and subordinate to the natives." The only tax paid to the central Government was the *haratch*; the only local rates were the so-called "salt-tax"

(ἀλατζάτικον), consisting of one piastre a year paid by householders (one-half, if they were widows), and a water-rate for the olives and gardens.¹ Thus, Athens was mildly governed, lightly taxed, and locally autonomous. Foreign consuls afforded the Greeks protection, the chief of the black eunuchs continued to appoint the governor, and it fortunately happened that the same individual, who tempered his love of money with humanity and justice, presided over the harem for thirty years. Moreover, the appointment of two Athenians as successive Patriarchs of Jerusalem gave their fellow-citizens an advocate at Constantinople, where the Patriarch often resided. Under these circumstances there was security for life and property. When the Abbé Fourmont visited Athens in 1726, much building was going on, and about that time the Metropolitan restored Great St. Mary's, which had been damaged by Morosini's bombardment and was destroyed by the archæologists in the last century.

A general uprising of both the local Greeks and the local Turks interrupted the quiet of Athenian history about the middle of the century. The new chief of the black eunuchs was so rapacious that he was executed by order of the Sultan, and when the news reached Athens in 1752 his nominee, the *voivode* Hassan Aga (whose portrait and

¹ *Ib.*, ii., 275-277.

prowess as an archer have been preserved by a sketch in Stuart and Revett's great work *The Antiquities of Athens*), at once fled. The arrival of an official to enquire into abuses and punish their authors increased the ferment, and the two British architects were advised to leave. After their return in the summer of 1753 fresh disturbances broke out, in consequence of the exactions of the new *voivode*, Sari Mouselimi; when a deputation of notables waited upon him to remonstrate he had some of them killed on the spot. The populace retaliated by setting fire to his residence after many had been killed on both sides, including the governor's secretary; but the *voivode* cut his way through them, sabre in hand, and took refuge in the Akropolis, where he was besieged and suffered severely from the lack of water. This insurrection, however, cost the Greeks a fine of over 800 purses,¹ besides other exactions by the Pasha of Negroponte, who imprisoned their Metropolitan and made him pay a heavy ransom. His prisoner, however, managed to obtain an order from the Sultan, forbidding the Pasha to enter Athens in future. These events were followed, in 1759, by the vandalism of the new *voivode*, a Mussulman of Athens, who, in order to build a fifth mosque for his native city, that now used as a military store, took a quantity of marble

¹ Benizelos and the *Diary* of Kalephornas, *ib.*, ii., 277, 318.

from the old palace of the Metropolitan beneath the Areopagus which had been destroyed by an earthquake in 1694, and blew up a pillar of the temple of Olympian Zeus, the "Palace of Hadrian," as it was still vulgarly called. An inscription scratched on one of the other columns preserves the exact date,¹ and the *voivode* had cause to remember it, for the ever-watchful Pasha of Negroponte, who was always seeking to interfere in Athenian affairs, threatened to denounce him to the Government for destroying the Sultan's property unless he paid 15 purses as blackmail.

The year 1760 marked a change in the government of Athens, which was then transferred from the jurisdiction of the black eunuch to the Sultan's privy purse. Athens thus became a *malikyané*, or "manor, of which the tithes were paid to the lord," and which the Sultan sold to the highest bidder for his life, and the purchaser appointed the *voivode*. This apparently more dignified situation was really detrimental, because the eunuch was only one person to propitiate, while many pashas had to receive fees under the new system. The first purchaser, a local Moslem of Levadeia, however, appointed a *voivode* so popular that he was called "the Good." But Athens about this time was

¹ Benizelos, *ib.*, ii., 278; Kampouroglos, *Μνημεῖα τῆς Ἱστορίας τῶν Ἀθηναίων*, i., 192.

cursed with a new Metropolitan, who had paid very highly for the see and sought to recoup himself at the expense of his flock. The latter made common cause with the *voivode* against the Metropolitan, who was temporarily expelled. So evil was his reputation that a story was invented accusing him of having contrived the murder of the Patriarch of Jerusalem while his guest in the Metropolitan's palace at Athens. This building, after the destruction of the old residence beneath the Areopagus, had been re-erected near the present metropolitan church and was subsequently embellished by this intriguing prelate, Bartholomew, as an inscription informs us.

About the middle of the century travellers again visited Athens. In 1751 Stuart and Revett¹ were sent there by the English Society of Dilettanti, remaining there on and off for over two years; in 1765 Chandler spent some time in the city. Unlike some archæologists, they studied the contemporary conditions, as well as the monuments of the town, and we are able from their pages to form a picture of Athenian life at this period. Athens then contained about 10,000 inhabitants, of whom four-fifths were Christians; but the Turks, though few, were sufficient to keep the Christians fully sensible

¹ *Antiquities of Athens*, i., 3-5; *Philadelphus*, ii., 96; Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece* (ed. 1825), ii., 95, 175.

of their mastery; several of the Turkish families dated from the conquest. Of all peoples subject to the Turks the Athenians perhaps preserved the greatest vivacity, genius, and civilization. Although long oppressed, they still showed much courage, and especial cleverness in opposing the vexations of an avaricious or cruel governor. They lacked neither orators nor clever politicians, who met in a café near the bazaar to discuss the news of the day. Some of the priests were cultured and excellent preachers, notably the Abbot of Kaisariané. Athens possessed two or three painters, more conspicuous, however, for natural ability than scientific training. The Athenians loved music and played the mandolin to the accompaniment of songs, which they often improvised. Men and women alike were well made, and the women had a particular elegance of form; they were clever at embroidery and excellent needlewomen, but a woman who could read and write was regarded as a prodigy; and from their lack of education and the Oriental seclusion in which they were kept (for the unmarried even wore veils, and no Greek maiden was ever seen), society seemed dull to "Europeans." The Athenian Greeks were crafty, subtle, and acute; no Jew, it was said, could live among them; they were restless people, and private animosities and cliques divided their community. The Turks were politer and more

sociable than usual, "living on more equal terms with their fellow-citizens, and partaking in some degree of the Greek character." Many of them drank wine. They were honourable and upright, but narrow-minded and avaricious. In 1765 there were eight or ten archontic families, mostly decaying, so that it was quite usual for *archontes* to keep shops or farm the revenues. They were distinguished from their fellows by their tall fur caps and priestlike robes,¹ whereas the ordinary Athenian wore a red skull-cap, a jacket, a sash, loose breeches tied by a knot, and a long vest. The climate was healthy; plagues were rare; as both Greeks and Turks neglected agriculture, that and pasture were given over to the Albanians, but the place manufactured leather and soap, and produced grain, oil, honey, wax, resin, a little silk, cheese, and valonia. Its export trade was to Constantinople and France, and eight French ships yearly visited the Piræus, still called after its lost Lion, and consisting of only "a mean custom-house with a few sheds, a warehouse belonging to the French," and the monastery of St. Spiridon. There were French and British consuls; Stuart praises the hospitality of the former, a Frenchman named Loeson, who had endowed Athens with a fountain, but knocked down the latter, a Greek of the family of Logothetes,

¹ Portrait in Kampouroglos, 'Ιστορία τῶν Ἀθηναίων, iii., 12.

as in Elgin's time.¹ For a time, the Government forbade Athenians to become consuls of foreign Powers; but for many years we find a Gaspari, great-grandson of one of the Athenian envoys to Morosini, representing France, which possessed a French resident merchant, the agent of the Nauplian, Keyrac, whose family subsequently settled in Athens. Another foreigner, but of disreputable character and mixed up in all the local intrigues, was the adventurer Lombardi, according to some an Italian, according to others a Turk. His numerous enemies described him as an ex-priest, who had committed robbery and levanted—a theory supported by a book, published by him in Italian and widely circulated in a Greek version under the title of *Truth the Judge*. This treatise, professedly the work of an ex-Jesuit converted to Greek Orthodoxy, pretended to defend the Orthodox Church, but was really a lampoon upon Christianity. The Turks regarded him with favour as a dervish—the “Tower of the Winds” was then a *tekkeh* of dancing dervishes and the *mihrab* and Turkish letters may still be seen there, while they had another *tekkeh* in the Odeion of Herodes Atticus, where Turks were executed. He forced himself as a dragoman upon Chandler, and after acting as false witness against the Metropolitan Bartholomew, whom he accused of being in league

¹ Kampouroglos, *Μνημεῖα*, i., 257.

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with the Knights of Malta, he ended his adventurous career on the gallows.¹

Chandler describes the Turkish government as "a milder tyranny." The few Turkish officials remained the same, consisting of the *voivode*, the *cadi*, the *mufti*, and the governor of the castle. The *voivode* was changed annually at the beginning of March: "he brings the cranes with him," the Athenians used to say of a new governor. That officer, who had purchased his post, required "circumspection and moderation in exacting the revenue," and "the usual concomitants of his station" were "uneasiness, apprehension, and danger." He had only a small garrison in the Akropolis, the walls of which had lately been repaired, to support him; the soldiers resided there with their families, but the lack of water and the difficulty of transporting provisions made the classic rock an uncomfortable station. The favourite sport of the Turks was *girid*, or stick-throwing on horseback, and the ground where this game took place was called, after that amusement, *tziríti*. Among the Greeks there was some intellectual life (although their reading consisted mostly of legends of the saints and they were very superstitious), for Dekas, an Athenian settled in Venice, had recently founded a second school there in the street that still bears his name,

¹ Benizelos, *op. cit.*, ii., 279; Chandler, ii., 31, 174-177.

and endowed it with an annual sum and a small library. There were several public baths, but the streets were very irregular and the houses "mostly mean and straggling." Already Kephisia had become a summer resort of the Turks. Such was the state of Athens on the eve of the Russian intervention in the Morea.

Anxious to ingratiate the Moreotes, the reinstalled Turkish administration exempted them for two years from the land-tax, and extended this concession to three in the case of immigrants, whom it was anxious to attract. In Chios, on the other hand, after the Venetian attack, the Turks somewhat diminished the local privileges and increased the taxation, changing the name of the five local representatives (three Greeks and two Latins) from *deputati* to the more usual form *demogérontes*, and in 1718 carrying them off in chains to Constantinople.¹ That prosperous island, however, except for that incident and another in 1770, was in the fortunate position of having no history from the end of the seventeenth century to the War of Independence. Thus, undisturbed and practically self-governing—for the biennially appointed Turkish governor, the judge, and the twenty Turkish soldiers had little real power—Chios formed a commercial aristocracy. No one could visit the governor without permission

¹ Vlastos, *Χιολά*, ii., 119, 152.

of the "elders," but their authority was limited by the brevity of their office—one year—and by the fact that no one wished to serve twice. As one of their duties was to act as food commissioners, their office, if honourable, was onerous, although they had the assistance of a great and a small council of notables in difficult questions. Thanks to their industry and commercial abilities, the Chiotes spread wherever money was to be made; but the Catholic exiles, who had emigrated to the Morea, did not return to their native island, but received from Venice a new home in the islet of Meganesi. A firman of Osman III. in 1755 exempted the twenty-one mastic villages from the ordinary taxes, except the capitation-tax and the corn-duty, on condition that they furnished annually 20,020 okes of mastic, about four times the amount demanded from them fifteen years earlier. Another firman of the same year declared Rhodes, Kos, and the smaller Southern Sporades dependent upon them "free from all points of view after paying a fixed sum"—a privilege repeated in 1774 in a firman of Abdul Hamid I.¹ Similar arrangements existed at Santorin and the other Cyclades, where the taxes were the *haratch* and a tithe to the *voivode*. Except, therefore, for the presence of Turkish judges, who were useful in

¹ Stéphanopoli, *Les Îles de l'Égée : leurs privilèges*, 164-167, 173-176; Pococke, *Description of the East*, 2; Δελτίον τῆς Ἰστ. καὶ Ἑθν. Ἐταιρίας, vi., 321-350.

settling the violent disputes between the Catholics and the Orthodox, the Ægean enjoyed practical self-government. But the fear of exciting the cupidity of their masters prevented the islanders from developing the mineral resources of Naxos and Melos and from growing mastic on Delos.

Northern Greece was less favourably treated, for here the local beys were more powerful than the central administration, and the peasants had to propitiate them with annual offerings of sheep, poultry, eggs, and butter. Conversions to Islam diminished the numbers of the Christians in Epeiros, where Ali of Tepeleni, the future Pasha of Joannina, was beginning to make himself known, while Albanian raids devastated Thessaly. Joannina was, however, already renowned for its educational advantages; it then possessed three schools, in one of which Eugenios Boulgaris taught, and which diffused Greek teachers throughout Greek lands, so that it could be said that "to Joannina Greece owes the resurrection of education," and that "in the eighteenth century all Greek authors were either natives of Joannina or pupils of the Joannina school." The custom of wearing masks at carnival there was supposed to have come down from the times of the Italian Despots of Epeiros.¹ Delvinon also possessed a Greek school.

¹ Aravantinos, *Χρονογραφία τῆς Ἡπείρου*, ii., 256, 281

Venice had long been noted for its Greek colony; the other great Adriatic city of Trieste, after it was declared a free port in 1717, gradually began to attract Greeks. We hear of a Greek consul there in 1723, and a Greek church was opened in 1758, while after the Russian invasion of the Morea many Moreote families flocked thither.¹ In the time of Peter the Great, who had distributed proclamations and portraits of himself with the inscription "Emperor of the Russo-Greeks" to the Christians of Turkey, a Russian propaganda had begun, but it was not till the reign of Catherine II. that a serious attempt was made to make Greece rise in the interests of Russia. When Chandler was at Athens, the appearance of a cruciform light over Sta. Sophia had created the impression that the liberation of Constantinople was at hand. In 1766 George Papazoles,² a Macedonian adventurer who had become a captain in the Russian artillery, encouraged by the Greeks of Trieste, landed in Maina in 1766 as a Russian agent, and distributed a Greek translation of the Russian rules of military science. But the Mainate chiefs, prominent among them the brothers Mavromichalai³ (whose family, first mentioned in a Venetian report of 1690, now first appears in

¹ Δελτίον τῆς Ἰστ. καὶ Ἑθν. Ἑτ., v., 370-376.

² Sathas (Τουρκοκρατούμενη Ἑλλάς, 452 n.) has restored his real name.

³ Zesiou, Οἱ Μαυρομυχάλοι, i., 18.

history), plainly told him that the Mainates, divided by tribal and personal feuds, were not strong enough to stand alone against the Turks: if Russia wished them to rise, she must send a force to help them. The wealthy notable of Kalamata, Benakes, a grandson of the "Prince of Maina," Gerakares, who had played so double a part in the Turco-Venetian War, was, however, flattered by his overtures, and an agreement was signed between them promising the rising of 100,000 Greeks, as soon as a Russian squadron appeared. Another Russian agent traversed the Morea and took back with him a plan of the country. The Greeks were, however, reported to be suspicious of the Empress's benevolent intentions, although an occasional enthusiast was rash enough to express his enthusiasm, for which, like the Metropolitan of Sparta, he paid with his head. Others escaped by emigration from Maina to Florida.

Accordingly, when the Russo-Turkish War broke out in 1768, Alexis and Feodor Orloff, brothers of the Empress's favourite, Gregory, proceeded to Venice to organize the Greek insurrection. Alexis had first conceived the idea of conquering Greece from the suggestion of a Venetian noble; Feodor was an enthusiastic philhellene, who expected to find the heroes of Plutarch by the banks of the Eurotas; Gregory perhaps hoped that he might

become the *Hospodar* of a Russianized Morea. Indeed, an enthusiastic Greek printer saw the realization of Plato's ideal in the submission of Greece to the sway of "the philosophic Empress." Greek merchants in Italy contributed large sums to the enterprise: as usual, it rained Russian decorations. Such was the excitement of the Greek colony in Venice that the Republic, anxious to preserve its neutrality, requested the Orloffs to leave. Great Britain, at that time Russophil, allowed the Russian squadron to enter her harbours, and declared that any act of hostility towards it by France would be considered as hostile to herself; two British admirals, Greig and Elphinstone, held commands in this small and unseamanlike fleet, while a Greek captain, Psaros of Mykonos, placed his local knowledge at the disposal of the Russian admiral, Spiritoff. The fleet was divided into two divisions; the first, under Feodor Orloff, with only 500 troops—Russians, Montenegrins, and Epeirates—arrived at Port Vitylo in Maina at the end of February, 1770, only to find the Mainates anxious about their prized autonomy and disposed to regard as a forgery the agreement between Papazoles and Benakes. A fresh agreement was therefore drawn up; two "Spartan legions," "the eastern" and "the western," were formed; the former under Psaros took and plundered Mistrâ, where he organized a

local government; the latter occupied Kalamata. These easy successes, exaggerated by rumour, caused a general insurrection. By clothing Greeks in Russian uniforms the 500 Russians were magnified into an army corps; Crete rose, and Moreote exiles in the Ionian Islands were told by Russian agents that they had only to show their title-deeds to recover their property, and that, if they helped, they would receive that of the Turks as well. On these conditions the Zantiotes hastened to occupy Elis and the Cephalonians besieged Patras. Another provisional government was formed at Mesolonghi, and a mulatto general, boasting the name of Hannibal, took Navarino. But Coron and Modon held out, while the Turks defeated Psaros before Tripolitsa, then the seat of the Turkish governor, and slaughtered 3,000 of the Greek inhabitants in revenge for the destruction of their coreligionists at Mistrâ. Further massacres of Greeks ensued—at Lemnos, Smyrna, and above all at Trikkala and Larissa, where the only church was destroyed. “Behold the blessings,” wrote a Greek historian, “which the Greek race reaped from the alliance of the Peloponnesians with Orloff.”

But there was worse to come. Albanian bands ravaged Continental Greece; Mesolonghi was abandoned; “the bones of the brothers Grivas” still mark the spot where the chiefs of that famous

Akarnanian clan fell fighting, and an inscription on a column of the Theseion commemorates an Albanian raid near Thebes.¹ Joannes Mavromichales, nicknamed "the Dog" from his bulldog courage, held out in a house at Nesi in Messenia for three days against a Turco-Albanian army and perished with his son. The siege of Modon was raised, whereupon Alexis Orloff, despite the appeals of Papazoles and Benakes, abandoned to their fate the unhappy Greeks whom he had deceived, and on June 1 sailed from Navarino with those two agents, the leading notables, and four bishops, to join the second Russian division under Elphinstone, who was seeking the Turkish fleet in the Ægean. Thus ignominiously ended the three months' Russian campaign in the Morea. The only illuminating exploit of the expedition was the destruction of the Turkish fleet at the sulphur "springs" of Tchesmé opposite Chios, largely owing to the bravery and skill of the British officers, who commanded two of the Russian fire-ships. The Turkish fleet being destroyed, Elphinstone and the British urged Alexis Orloff, who was Commander-in-Chief, to force the Dardanelles at once and dictate terms at Constantinople. The Russians, however, considered the venture too risky, ten days were wasted, and finally a compromise was made, by which the fleet was to

¹ Δελτιον, ii., 22.

occupy Lemnos and thence blockade the Dardanelles. This gave the Turks time to recover from their panic, and Baron de Tott, a French agent, time to fortify the Dardanelles. Elphinstone went home in disgust; the "old castle" of Lemnos held out for three months until, when it had already hoisted the white flag, it was relieved by the Turks, under a daring sailor Djezaerli-Hassan, or Hassan "of the Archipelago." Thereupon Alexis Orloff left for Italy, and Spiritoff for the harbour of Naousa in Paros, leaving the Turks to wreak their vengeance upon the Lemnians.¹

The Athenians had hitherto shown no desire to take part in the insurrection. But the Turks took the precaution of making them sleep on the Akropolis, in order to prevent any communication with the enemy under cover of night. A Russian ship's captain, married to the sister of the Athenian notable Logothetes, had tried, indeed, to provoke a rising by entering the Piræus with a man-of-war as the forerunner of the Russian fleet. The Turks fled to the Akropolis, the guns of which were in such a neglected condition that the "castle" could not have held out, but what the Christians feared was a massacre. The danger of this was promptly represented to the Russian by Keyrac, the French merchant, who then lived at the

¹ Moschides, 'Η Αἴμνος, i., 193-203.

Piræus, and who, by telling him that his wife's brother would be the first victim, induced him to leave the same night. But the Battle of Tchesmé excited the Athenian youth, and when, at the beginning of the next year, the chieftain Metromaras, who had routed the Albanians and burned Megara, hoisted the Russian flag on Salamis, not a few of them joined him, against the advice of the older men. The proximity of Salamis, whence Metromaras made raids on the mainland, was found dangerous to the Athenians. When the Salaminians carried off a Turkish tax-collector near Athens, a massacre was openly threatened in the Athenian *cafés*, and only prevented by the kind old *mufti* and the humane *voivode*. Then two rival Albanian leaders fought over Athens at the Monastery of the Angels on the road to Marathon. The Athenians were accused, too, of feeding the Salaminian insurgents, and 500 men were sent with orders from the Sultan to destroy them. The self-interest of Ismail Aga, then lessee of the *malikyané*, saved the city; he obtained a counter-order, but only just in time, for the executioners had already reached Menidi, the ancient Acharnai, when this second firman stopped them. As it was, they entered the city and made the notables pay a ransom of 80 purses. This state of uncertainty continued till Metromaras was killed in 1772, when his followers were hanged

upon sharp hooks until they died.¹ Daskalogiannes, the leader of the Sphakiote insurrection, was flayed alive, that warlike Cretan district ravaged with fire and sword, and its inhabitants compelled to pay the capitation-tax.

Meanwhile, the Russian fleet, after wintering in Paros, captured seventeen other islands of the Cyclades in 1771. Pasch di Krienen, who was serving as a volunteer with the Russians, has given us a "brief description"² of "the eighteen occupied islands" at that period. Each island was governed, by orders of Spiritoff, by local officials, called *sindaci* and a chancellor, elected by the inhabitants. These *sindaci* varied according to the size of the island, Tenos having nine, Andros eight, and Antiparos one. The islanders were not, however, content with their local representatives, and at Siphanto rose against them. They had to swear allegiance to Catherine II., and Psaros of Mykonos was appointed Inspector of the Archipelago.³ But at the same time his fellow-islanders thought it prudent to send a secret agent to assure the Turks of their real sentiments, in case of a Turkish restoration.⁴

The Cyclades were at this time much depopulated, owing to corsairs and emigration, and in some

¹ Benizelos, *op. cit.*, ii., 280-284.

² *Breve descrizione dell' Arcipelago e particolarmente delle diciotto isole sottomesse l'anno 1771 al dominio russo.*

³ Sathas, 517-519.

⁴ Blancard, *Les Mavroyéni*, i., 64, 643.

islands, notably Siphanto and Mykonos, the female population was consequently far in excess of the male; to this was attributed the efforts of the ladies of Mykonos to make themselves as charming as possible to the few eligible men. Naxos and Andros had the largest population, and the palm for politeness was awarded to the families of the old town of Naxos. Only 300 Latins survived in the capital of the medieval Latin duchy, but among them were many names of the feudal families which had once held sway there. Syra, where all were Catholics, was then a place of small importance—its time was to come fifty years later. Tenos was the most cultivated of the islands; but the Venetians, who had left their mark there during their long occupation, had burned all the olive-trees of Paros during the Candian War. The islands, it was calculated, could be made far more productive, and could support a far larger population, under a good Government. Still, there was sufficient commerce for the French to keep several consuls in the islands, and the four years' Russian occupation benefited them materially, for the Russians repaired the conduits and roads at Naousa and raised the price of Naxian oranges, lemons, and poultry. "General ignorance" prevailed. The character of the islanders struck the northern visitor as insincere; the people of Thermia were particularly astute.

Except for the bombardment of Beyrout, the Russian fleet remained inactive until the Treaty of Kutchuk Kaïnardji ended the war in 1774. Article 17 of that treaty restored the Cyclades to Turkey, which promised to forget all accusations and suspicions formed against its subjects, to abstain from persecuting their religion, to allow them to repair and rebuild their churches, to exact no compensation for damages suffered during the war, within the next two years, and to permit those families which wished to leave their country to have a year within which to put their affairs in order, and to carry away with them all their property. Another article provided for a general amnesty. But it was later that the political effects of this celebrated treaty were felt; for the moment, save for paper guarantees, the Russians left the Greeks to their fate; but the latter found a saviour in Djezaerli-Hassan, a Persian slave, who had been in the service of the Dey of Algiers, but whose recapture of Lemnos had gained him the post of capitan-pasha. Hassan prevented a general massacre by asking its advocates who would pay the capitation-tax if all the Greeks were murdered. To the islanders, who had submitted to Russian rule, he showed mercy and forgiveness, partly from policy and partly from the influence of the dragoman of the fleet, Nicholas Mavrogenes, a native of Paros. This islander, who claimed descent

from the Morosini and figures prominently in the curious romance of Thomas Hope, *Anastasius*,¹ which covers the period between 1779 and 1797, persuaded Hassan to pardon even the people of Psara, whose flotilla had raided the coast-towns during the war.

But the Turkish admiral and his Greek dragoman rendered even greater services to the Moreotes. For nine years Albanian bands had ravaged the Morea, levying blackmail upon the wealthy and selling the poor into slavery, while the Turkish Government was unable to control or expel them, till, in 1779, Hassan was sent with full powers to restore order. That resolute commander defeated the Albanians in the plain of Tripolitsa, and erected there a pyramid of 4,000 heads as a trophy and a warning. He next turned his attention to the Mainates. In 1776 he had separated them from the rest of the Morea and placed them under his own jurisdiction as capitan-pasha, appointing one of their chief men, Zanet Koutouphares, their governor with the title of Bey, and making him responsible for the collection of the tribute. The first of the series of eight Turkish Beys of Maina was soon condemned to death; Mavrogenes obtained the appointment of another Mainate, Troupakes, as his successor; and, during a cruise of the Turkish fleet in the Mainate ports, Hassan

¹ Pp. 21, 357 (ed. Buchon).

invited the local notables on board to dinner and informed them that they must recognize the authority of the Sultan and that, if they wished to consult their compatriots, they must leave their children as hostages. Mavrogenes, although not a Phanariote by birth, was rewarded by being made *Hospodar* of Wallachia, but paid for his promotion with his head. His career is variously judged by Greek and Roumanian writers, but at Nauplia and in the capital of his native island several fountains, besides inscriptions in the famous Church of the Hundred Gates, still preserve his memory.¹ Doubtless owing to his influence, the Nauplian Christians, whose numbers had greatly dwindled since the Turkish reconquest, were allowed for the first time since 1715 to hold religious services inside the town. For such was the arrogance of the local Turks that the Pasha of the Morea had been compelled to move the capital in 1770, and definitely in 1786, to Tripolitsa, where it remained till 1821. In Pouqueville's time, although theoretically the Pasha's seat during his year of office was still supposed to be Nauplia, the primates always met him with a present of 150,000 piastres as a bribe to fix it at Tripolitsa, because the latter, being an open town, was less likely to be converted into a strong position. The Pasha

¹ *Voyage de Dima et Nicolo Stéphanopoli en Grèce pendant les années 1797 et 1798*, i., 194; Blancard, i., *passim*.

was never known to refuse this inducement, which was not, therefore, as the cant phrase described it, "lost money."¹

Hassan had restored peace to the Morea; but, if it was peaceful, it was a wilderness. "The Porte," wrote the Prussian Minister in 1778, "sends orders to all its Governments to do exact justice to all its *rayah* and to treat them with humanity," and this was doubtless politic. Russia, too, in Article 8 of the Convention of Ainali Kavak of 1779, made the Porte promise to indemnify the Moreotes by the gift of other lands or proportionate advantages, instead of restoring their lands and other property, which had been confiscated for the use of mosques and other religious foundations. But when Hassan took a census of the Morea, he found the population reduced below 100,000, and, as Maina was no longer included in it, he had to treble the capitation-tax. There had been an immense emigration during those nine terrible years since the Russian insurrection began. Many had gone to the Crimea, over 12,000 insular Greeks had settled in Istria, and it was calculated that the result of the movement of 1770 had been the death, slavery, or expatriation of over 80,000 persons. The plague

¹ Lamprynides, 'Η Ναυπλία, 290, 304; Sathas, 494 n. (where a contemporary Tripolitan calls it in 1770 "seat of the governor"); Pouqueville, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, iii., 488; v. 2; Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, vi., 69, 73

of 1781-85 further diminished the Moreote population; but the French Revolution revived agriculture there, owing to the demand for grain for French use. Thus the population rose in 1798 to 240,000 Christians and 40,000 Turks.

The year that witnessed the signature of the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji saw a change for the worse in the government of Athens, for that *malikyané* was bought by the Sultan's sister, who presented it to her Asiatic lover, Hadji Ali, "the Haseki" (or "bodyguard"), and sent him thither as her *voivode*. Of all the Turkish governors of Athens he was the most tyrannical, and his tyranny was by far the longest, for his influence over his mistress and hers over her brother made it difficult to get rid of him. At first, indeed, he posed as the protector of the Greeks against the local Turks and of both against the intervention of the Pasha of Negroponte, and took care to make friends of "the Athenian aristocracy." Consequently, when he began to oppress the people, their natural leaders declined to act against him, and the principal householders, who formed the second class of the community, according to one account, took for the first time the bold step of denouncing him at Constantinople, without their knowledge but with the support of the Metropolitan, the abbots, and several prominent peasants. As his mistress longed to see her lover,

their complaints were heard, and for a brief space a just *voivode* from Chios governed Athens. The tyrant, however, with the aid of his friends among the Athenian notables, especially a certain Vlastos, and of the versatile Metropolitan Bartholomew (anxious for his support with his mistress at the next election for the Œcumenical Patriarch), came back as governor in 1777 with a bill for expenses and damages sustained by his previous removal, which the Athenians had to pay.

The great Albanian invasion of Attica in 1778 united for the moment governor and governed in the defence of the town. Hadji Ali marched out at the head of the Athenians to Chalandri seven miles away, and there completely routed the 600 Albanians in what would have been considered in classical times a great battle. Fearing, however, another and larger raid, he at once set to work to build a wall round the unfortified town. The work was not finished when news arrived that 6,000 Albanians were on their way to the Morea and might be expected at Athens. The Turkish population thereupon took refuge on the Akropolis, while Hadji Ali personally followed the Greeks across to Salamis, whither their ancestors had fled after Morosini's abandonment of Athens ninety years earlier. There they remained for thirteen days, when, after having paid blackmail for the Albanian leader's expenses in coming to

“protect” them, they thought it safe to return. Warned by this occurrence, Hadji Ali at once resumed with vigour the construction of his wall, setting an example by handing stones to the masons with his own hands. Such was the zeal of the inhabitants that the entire circuit of the wall was completed in 108 days, including the interruption caused by the flight to Salamis; indeed, one contemporary puts it at only 70. The wall began at the Odeion of Herodes Atticus, and passed by the theatre of Dionysos to the Arch of Hadrian (“the gate of the Princess,” as it was then called after Aretousa, the daughter of the “King of Athens” in the Cretan poem *Erotókritos*). The lower portion of the arch was walled up, and this portion of the wall long remained untouched owing to the legend that it contained the treasures of “the Princess,” and that whosoever laid sacrilegious hands upon it would be struck with lightning, until Queen Amalia ordered its destruction. Thence the wall followed the present avenue called after that Queen up to the square in front of the palace, whence it turned down what is now Stadion Street, where there was a broad and deep ditch, to the National Bank. It thence turned to the left as far as Liberty Square, passed outside the Theseion and by way of the Areopagos rejoined the Odeion of Herodes Atticus. It contained six gates: the “Albanian” (so called from

the adjacent population) near the present military hospital; the "Inland," more generally known as the "Boubounistra," from the "plashing" of the neighbouring spring, on the square before the palace; that "of the Holy Apostles" near the church of that name, or "of Menidi" (because that was the starting-point of the road to that village), in what is now Aiolos Street; that "of the Gipsies" in the Kerameikos (so called because the "gipsies" who worked as smiths lived there); the "Madravili" (the name of a local family), between the Theseion and the Pnyx; and the "Castle" or "Karababa" gate in front of the Akropolis, through which the Turks carried their dead to the Moslem cemetery. Guard-houses in the form of towers, vulgarly called *boúrtzia*, were erected near the gates. In his haste, Hadji Ali used fragments of the antiquities for his wall. Thus over the Boubounistra gate he placed the Latin inscription of Hadrian's aqueduct (now in the palace garden), as may be seen in one of Dodwell's¹ illustrations. He destroyed and used as building materials the old bridge over the Ilissos, St. Mary's-on-the-Rock, which had served as a chapel of the Frankish dukes, and of which Stuart had fortunately left a sketch, besides part of the old monastery of St. Nikodemos, now renovated as the Russian church. The cost of these fortifications Hadji

¹ *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece.*

Ali exacted from the citizens, who soon found that the wall was not only intended as a defence against the Albanians, but as a prison for themselves. With the powerful aid of Hassan Pasha and Mavrogenes, the Metropolitan, who had once more changed sides, succeeded in obtaining the tyrant's deposition. But upon the Metropolitan's death, his successor, Benedict, with many Turks and Turkophils among the Greek notables, actually presented a memorial for his return. Accordingly, towards the end of 1782 Hadji Ali returned, only to act with greater tyranny than ever, even suppressing in prison one of his previous chief Turkish supporters. A large deputation then proceeded to Constantinople, and the farmers who were among its members took their ploughshares with them and dramatically threw them down before the Grand Vizier, asking him to give them another place in which to live, for Athens was unbearable. Hadji Ali escaped punishment, but, while retaining the *malikyané* of Athens, was forbidden to administer it personally on the spot. So much incensed against the primates who had favoured him was the Athenian democracy, that every citizen cast a stone with cries of "Anathema upon them!" in a heap before the gate of the Holy Apostles, just as the people of Patras and Nauplia had done in the case of those who had betrayed them in 1715 and as the Athenian royalists did in

that of M. Venizelos in 1916. A mass meeting then deposed the unpatriotic primates. For the first time the "elders" were elected from the second class of citizens, a leading Moslem was chosen as one of the "agents," and a public meeting declared that Athens should no longer be a close oligarchy. Thus, in 1785, liberal Turks and democratic Greeks were leagued together against the Turkish tyrant and the Greek aristocracy.

For two years Hadji Ali remained hidden in the palace of his mistress, powerless to overcome the formidable coalition which had been formed against him at Constantinople and Athens, where two local leaders, Belos and Bekir, had taken up arms to prevent the entrance of his emissary within his newly built wall. Thus his fortification of Athens was turned against himself, and a *voivode* hostile to him governed the town. Both parties resorted to bribery and intrigues; Hadji Ali obtained from the Patriarch the removal of the Metropolitan Benedict; the Athenian patriots persuaded Procopios Menas, then British consul at Athens, and Benedict bribed the dragoman of the British embassy at Constantinople to influence the ambassador against the new Metropolitan. The ambassador requested and obtained Benedict's recall—the first instance of British intervention in Athenian affairs. Meanwhile, the Athenians had gained another victory by the same methods—

the withdrawal of the *malikyané* from Hadji Ali and its bestowal upon the Governor of the Mint; the *silichtar*, or aide-de-camp, of their friend the capitan-pasha was sent as their governor. Their triumph seemed complete when, in 1788, their former tyrant's protectress died.

Hadji Ali knew, however, that the powerful admiral's weakness was money, and he worked upon it with such effect that he regained the *malikyané*. As soon as the news reached Athens, the oligarchical party returned to power, flung the two popular leaders into prison, and shut up the Metropolitan in his residence. In 1789 the tyrant himself returned and a reign of terror began; Belos and Bekir were hanged, and the body of a leading Moslem was suspended from the Frankish tower of the Akropolis; twenty-four prominent householders were placed before a row of sharpened and pointed stakes and told that, if they did not pay up, they would be impaled, while all the people were assembled in the Deka School and ordered to sign a collective promissory note for 400,000 piastres in money and oil. A visitation of famine and of the plague, such as recalled the account of Thucydides, increased the misery of the inhabitants; and the prisons were filled with those whom the plague had spared. Only the three "elders" and their friends, as supporters of the tyrant, were exempt from payment, and did not

scruple to buy up the property of their oppressed compatriots, thus showing, as travellers found, that Greek primates were sometimes “a kind of Christian Turks.” Like vultures round a carcase, speculators came from other parts to purchase the oliveyards and houses, which the poor Athenians were forced to sell, in order to pay their shares of the promissory note. Even if a citizen managed to escape to some mountain cave under pretext of raising the money by picking his olives, his fellow-parishioners—for Athens was then divided into thirty-six parishes—had to pay his share. The shoemaker Skouzes has left a graphic account of these horrors, of which he was an eyewitness in his boyhood—of women tied to a pillar and flogged in prison, of a priest dragged in his vestments from church to gaol. For Hadji Ali spared no one from his exactions, and the monastery of Kaisariané was saved from his clutches only by the legal fiction of selling it to the metropolitan see of Athens, while that of “the Angels” obtained protection against him by becoming a *vakuf*, or property of a mosque. No private property was safe, for the tyrant would ask anyone to sell him his house or field, send his own valuers and either pay the amount of their low valuation, or, if the owner were a Christian, tender him in payment a receipt for his share in the public promissory note. The present Botanical Garden was part of the

property which he thus took and planted and watered with the forced labour of the Athenians, and which still preserves his name. There he built a tower with a drawbridge, while where is now the prison of the old barracks stood his town residence.

The Porte, preoccupied by the war against Russia and Austria, paid no heed to what occurred at Athens, while the complaints which reached the capital were described by the Athenian oligarchy as the malicious gossip of mischief-makers. But Hassan Pasha's former aide-de-camp chanced to be appointed Pasha of Negroponte; from time immemorial the holder of that office had sought every pretext for interfering in Athenian affairs, and the new Pasha had no reason to love the man whom he had formerly displaced. Accordingly, when application was made to him to recover a debt from the Athenian community, he gladly intervened by force. Hadji Ali resisted, and the Sultan, annoyed at this conflict between his officials, banished them both in 1792. Hadji Ali, however, found his way to the capital, whence he continued to send his representative as governor to Athens with orders to levy money as before. But his restless ambition led him to attempt the overthrow of the captain of the Sultan's bodyguard, of which he was a member, and resulted in his own exile to Chios. Even then he managed to make a brief reappearance at Athens; but at last, in 1795,

prompted by their compatriots at Constantinople, who saw that the moment was favourable, a deputation of Athenians, headed by Petrakes, the abbot of the Monastery of "the Angels," lodged a complaint against him. An attempt to poison the abbot in a cup of coffee failed; money was subscribed to influence the Turkish officials on the side of justice, and the three "elders" of the year, summoned to give an account of his stewardship, in vain laboured to defend their patron against the charges of their compatriots, who had found a powerful protector in a leading Turk. Hadji Ali was banished to Kos, and there assassinated, thus ending his twenty years' tyranny over Athens—perhaps the most unhappy period in its long history. His ill-gotten gains were not, however, restored to their owners, but escheated to the Sultan; his real property was put up to auction, and the city of Athens bought his town house as a residence for the governor. "Then," writes Skouzes, "Athens began to be happy and beautiful; every year there was an election of new primates, they began to found schools and the like." Politics and education are an excellent definition of happiness for a modern Greek.¹

¹ Benizelos, Kalephornas, and P. Skouzes *apud* Philadelphus, ii., 286-308, 322, 329-345; Kampouroglos, *Μνημεία*, i., 134-137, 313, 355-362, 375; ii., 76 (the tyrant's signature and seal), 297; iii., 166, 170, 246; Bartholdy, *Voyage en Grèce*, i., 226-230 (French tr.).

Despite the failure of the insurrection of 1770, the Empress Catherine continued her schemes for the partition of Turkey. In 1782 she wrote to the Emperor Joseph II., proposing the restoration of the Greek Empire under her grandson, the Grand Duke Constantine, with Constantinople as its capital, independent of Russia, which was, however, to receive one or two islands of the Archipelago to facilitate its trade. Joseph II., while raising no objections to these proposals, wished that the Morea, Crete, Cyprus, and the other islands of the Archipelago should be given to Venice as compensation for her Istrian and Dalmatian provinces, which he coveted. Catherine disapproved of this curtailment of the future Greek Empire, and went on with a Russian propaganda, of which her consuls in the Ionian Islands, specially chosen from leading Greek families, and the Greek pupils of the military school in Russia, were active agents. The Russo-Turkish War of 1787-92 naturally offered an opportunity for action. The Triestine Greeks fitted out a flotilla, with which Lambros Katsones, a Greek of Levadeia in the Russian service, raided the Ægean and made his flagship, the *Athens of the North*, the terror of the Turks, taking Kastellorizon (the "Red Castle" of Latin times), bombarding Durazzo, defeating the Turkish fleet off Karpathos, and sustaining a defeat which was a moral victory in an engagement with the Turkish and Algerine

squadrons off the classic headland of Caphareus. A Greek mission went to Petrograd to ask for ammunition, accepted Constantine as Emperor, and was addressed by him in Greek. A grandiose plan for a general insurrection, beginning with the warlike Souliotes, was frustrated by the abandonment of Russia by her Austrian ally and the subsequent Peace of Jassy, which Russia concluded without consulting her Greek supporters. Katsones, on receiving orders from Russia, whose flag he had flown, replied that "if the Empress had made her peace, he had not made his," published a protest against this policy, and established himself at Porto Quaglio in Maina, whence he continued his raids with the aid of the elder Androutsos, famous for having blown up the lion of Chæroneia and for his defence of "the great monastery" of Hosios Loukas. But his raids were not limited to the Turks; his attack upon some French ships made the French co-operate with the Turkish navy against him as a pirate, and the Bey of Maina was ordered to deliver him up alive or dead. Warned by the Bey in time, Katsones escaped by sea direct to the Ionian Islands, and Androutsos cut his way thither through the Morea. The Porte thereupon demanded their extradition from the Venetian Republic, and the demand was supported by the French consul in the

Ionian Islands, Saint-Sauveur,¹ who has left an account of these proceedings. Androutsos was delivered up, and ended his adventurous career in prison at Constantinople. Katsones escaped to Parga and thence to Russia, where he ended his days. A Greek poem² was composed about him; he was compared to Themistokles and Androutsos to Xenophon; even his French critic acknowledges the courage and firmness which made of this illiterate seaman an ideal leader of such an enterprise. But the privateering of 1788-92 was the cause of as many horrors as the expedition of 1770. Only it had been proved that the Greeks were a match for the Turks at sea: Katsones was the predecessor of Kanares.

The Treaty of Jassy expressly renewed that of Kutchuk Kainardji and the Convention of Ainali Kavak, and provided also that all the Christians of the Morea and the islands who had fallen into slavery should be released without ransom. Numbers of Greeks under the shelter of Russian consulates traded as Russian subjects, many became consuls themselves in order to gain commercial advantages, and some States, notably Prussia, were so careless in the choice of their representatives in Greek waters that Bartholdy found the Prussian vice-consul serving behind his

¹ *Voyage historique, littéraire et pittoresque*, ii., 287-311.

² Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, iii., 332-336.

chair at a dinner in the French consul's house ! Paul of Patras was consul of eight nations, and there were consular families, like the Athenian Logothetai, as in our day. As in our day, too, the Greek shipowners profited greatly by the fact that their own sovereign was neutral during the early years of the French Revolutionary War, which, by ending Venetian domination in the Ionian Islands and substituting for it French rule in 1797, closed a long chapter of Greek history, and made Bonaparte a factor in Greek affairs.

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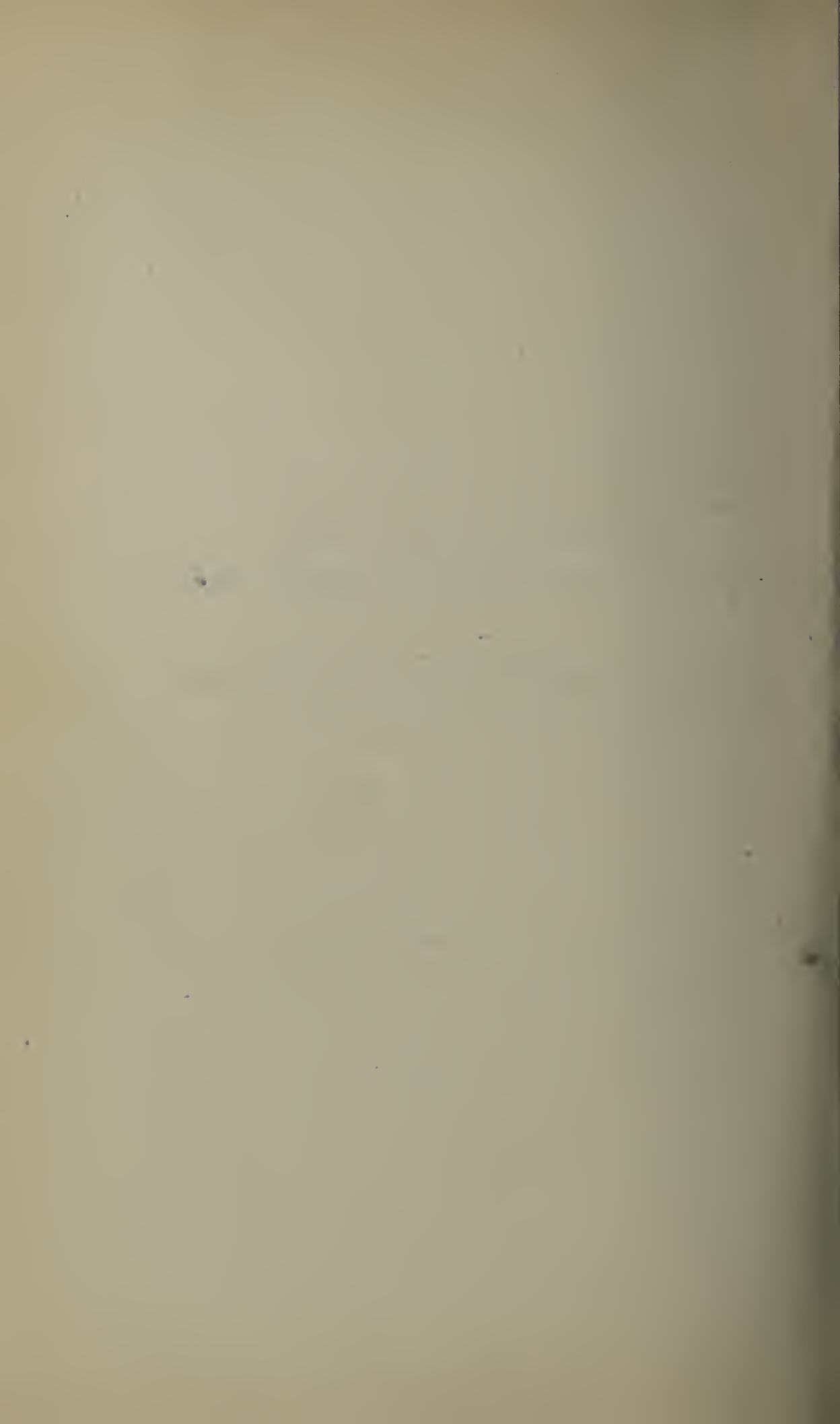
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**SOURCES FOR THE
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[Continued on p. 2]

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SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY
OF
ROMAN CATHOLICS
IN ENGLAND, IRELAND,
AND SCOTLAND

FROM THE REFORMATION PERIOD TO THAT OF
EMANCIPATION, 1533 TO 1795

BY

JOHN HUNGERFORD POLLEN, S.J.

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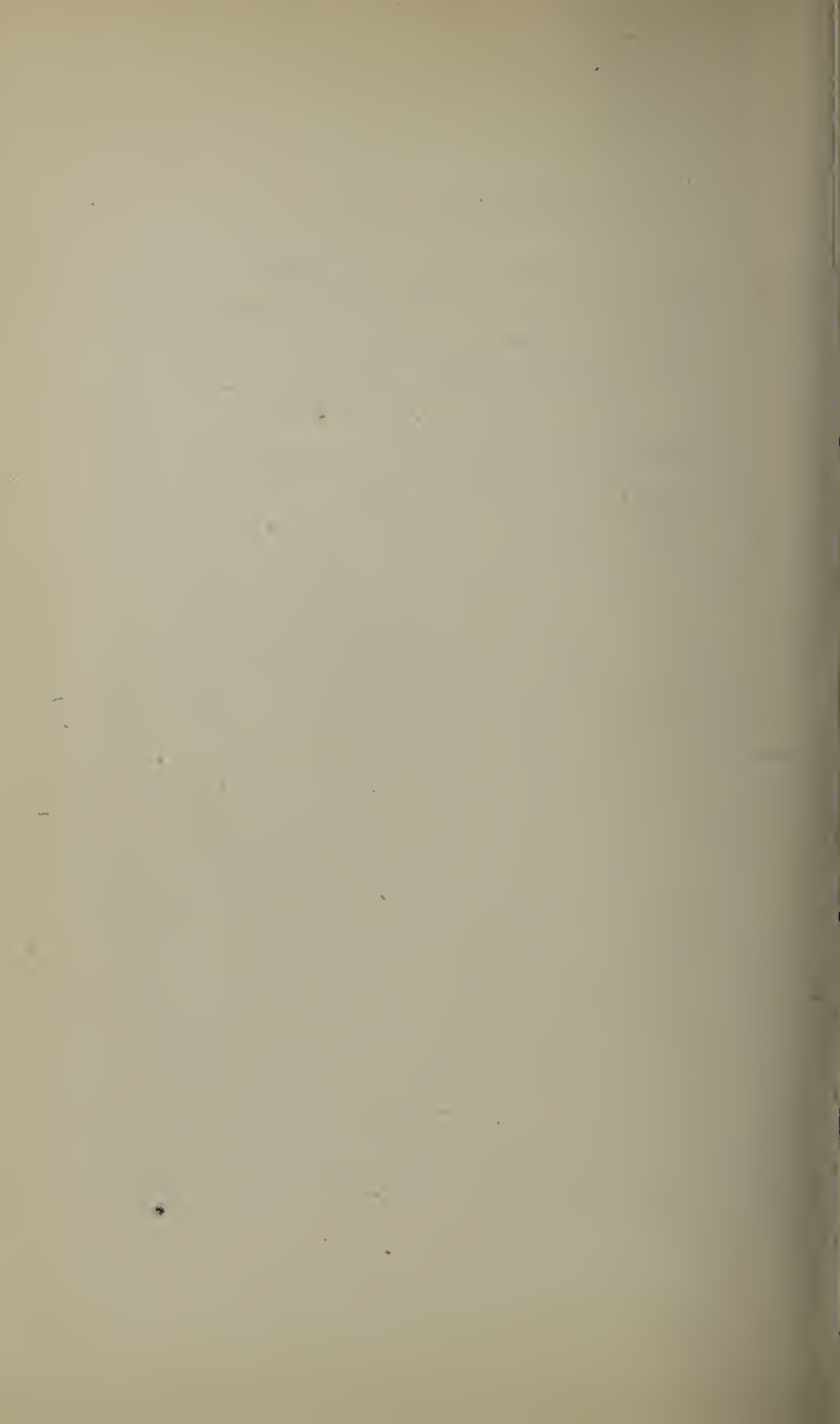
EDITORS' NOTE

THE use of names for religious bodies is often an occasion of difficulty. In the course of time such names are liable to slow changes, imperceptible probably at the time, and yet afterwards the variation may be regarded as of deep import. It has therefore seemed well to the editors and to the author to go back in the present issue as far as possible to old-fashioned terms, not liable to controversy—"The old Religion," "The new Religion." They are still perfectly intelligible, but one must remember that they signified, and here signify, not matters of interior belief only, but also matters of observance, ceremonial, organisation, and the like.

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FOREWORD

THIS little tract endeavours to indicate how to take the first steps in researches into Roman Catholic history, both in general and in special subjects. It was inevitable that much should be presumed. It has been supposed that the intending searcher is not altogether unacquainted with research work in general, and that he has ordinary facilities for access to libraries, archives, and catalogues. For such I have asked myself, How can I give most aid in the smallest space? I cannot give a full historical introduction, but I have briefly noted the changing policy of the State towards Roman Catholics, in order to show the kind of State Papers which that policy produced. They are accessible under the references given, and from them we must reconstruct our picture of the political history. Again, there is no space for an introduction to the Church legislation; but the names are given of the various Church rulers and of their offices, and the dates of their succession, and of their constitutional enactments. At the end is a sort of subject-index to any good library catalogue. Indeed, the whole tract is rather a subject-index than a textbook. It is not meant to stand alone; it is meant to give first aid to those who have access to sources.



SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY
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AND SCOTLAND

§ I.—SOURCES AT HOME AND ABROAD

1. THE Reformation was introduced in England and Ireland under Tudor Sovereigns at the height of their autocratic power, and one result for those of the unreformed creed was to cause a great break in the preservation of their records. In Scotland the violence of the Kirk produced the same result. For two and a half centuries no marriage or baptismal registers, nor any records of this character, were kept by them, either in England, Scotland, or Ireland; and only few confidential records of a more secular character, such as memoirs, biographies, correspondence. Until the bloody code of the Tudors became inoperative, the danger of such records was so grave that the practice or duty of preserving them was hardly ever discussed or mentioned. Of course, there were exceptions, local, personal, or transitory, as time went on; but, broadly speaking, no documentary evidence of importance was preserved; even gravestones,

for instance, were without the characteristic religious formulæ.

Abroad, however, circumstances were different, and there the customary preservation of records continued, until a milder age permitted the religious exiles to return. From the epoch of the French Revolution, when the English colleges and convents came back (about 1794), and even for some decades before (the first English Relief Bill was in 1778), the custom of registering baptisms has been practised, and the custody of records has since continued in the ordinary manner.

§ II.—STATE PAPERS, ENGLISH AND FOREIGN

2. Of course, it is also true that there are multitudinous papers at the Public Record Office which concern the Romanists, as they are so often called; but these are, broadly speaking, all hostile, one-sided, and frequently coloured, fanatical, and persecuting. They are records of the cruel measures taken against them, not of their civil or domestic lives, which are only noticed casually or accidentally.

3. In diplomatic transactions the principal spokesmen for the old religion were the representatives of the Catholic Powers, Spain and France, Flanders, Bavaria and Austria, and especially the Papal nuncios in neighbouring Courts. Thus it has come that the Vatican Archives possess more materials for the two hundred and fifty dark

years than any other repository. A large collection of transcripts from this source has been made by Government, and is now at the Record Office, entitled *Roman Transcripts*, and a Calendar of those relating to the reign of Elizabeth is being prepared entitled *Calendar of State Papers: Rome*, of which Vol. I. covers the years 1558 to 1571. It is, however, to be remembered that fixed and regular nunciatures, like embassies, were not established till the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.

4. For the Tudor and Stuart periods the Archives of Simancas are also very rich. The *Fondo Inghilterra* has been more or less covered for the Tudor reigns by the *Spanish Calendars*, but the *Fondo Roma* is still unworked, as also is that of *Grazias y Justitia* and other less important sections.

The most ample documentary publication from this source is entitled *Documentos Inéditos* under the editorship of El Marques de la Fuensanta del Valle. The standard guide to the records is D. Francisco Diaz Sánchez' *Guia de la Villa y Archivo de Simancas*, Madrid, 1885.

5. The rivalry between France and Spain, which played so large a part in Reformation history, also affects their diplomatic correspondence. Where Spanish Ambassadors find much to say about the religious question, the French find little. But *vice versa*, where the Spaniards are inattentive, the French are communicative, especially, for instance, in all that relates to Mary Stuart and to such matters as the prolonged marriage negotiations of Elizabeth with successive French Princes. Very

much turned here on the religious question. Could a foreign Prince be allowed to worship according to the Roman rite? Could Englishmen be allowed to be present? etc. Under a veil of flippancy the fundamental problems of the day were discussed with seriousness. Perhaps the best papers on the English side are those at Hatfield House.

The French originals are generally preserved either in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, etc., or in the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères. But owing to the great destruction of diplomatic papers which took place at the French Revolution, there are many serious gaps in the correspondence, and its sequence is difficult to follow.

There is a small collection of transcripts by Armand Baschet at the Public Record Office, 1518-1714. But since this was made (some seventy years since) the progress of the French archives has been great, and Baschet's selection by no means represents the present archive wealth of Paris. Much has now been done towards filling the gaps in the correspondence. Consult the *Inventaire Sommaire des Archives du Département des Affaires Etrangères*, Paris, 1892, etc.; C. Langlois et H. Stein, *Les Archives de l'Histoire de France*, Paris, 1891. For "Hints on Books and Authors," see § XVI. below.

§ III.—PUBLIC ARCHIVES IN ENGLAND

6. We have seen that in our Record Office and public libraries we are not likely to find the ordinary civil and domestic records of Roman Catholics, even if we search the indexes under that modern official heading. The State Papers of earlier times spoke of them as Papists, Romanists, or Recusants, men of the old learning,

or old religion; or Non-Jurors, or even as traitors, or rebels; or otherwise ignored them altogether. This will make it appropriate to enumerate briefly some incidents and events, in which their fortunes were chiefly concerned, in various reigns; to enumerate also some typical persons and headings likely to be found in indexes, in calendars and catalogues, and in historical handbooks and guides; for it is impossible to make researches unless we know what sort of headings, titles, names, will cover the subject in which we are interested. The following lists of topics make no claim to be complete; they are merely hints or clues which may prove useful.

§ IV.—HENRY VIII.

7. The chief events in the reign of Henry VIII. which determined the fortunes of the anti-Reformers were the Divorce, 1527 to 1534; the exaction of the oath of Royal Supremacy, 1529; the separation from Rome, 1534; the Suppression of the Lesser and of the Greater Monasteries, 1536, 1540; the Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536; proceedings against alleged superstitions, 1538; the imposition of the various formularies, such as the *Ten Articles*, *The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition set forth by the King's Majesty*, 1539, 1543.

The leading names for the party in this period might be—Bishop John Fisher, Sir Thomas More, Bishops Gardiner and Bonner, Cardinal Pole, Queen Catherine and Princess Mary; Thomas Houghton, Carthusian Prior; Richard Reynolds, Bridgettine; Robert Aske, Esq.; John Forest, Observant Friar. Lives of all these are in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

8. Numerous records exist at the Record Office about the persons and topics mentioned above. They are well calendared in *Letters and Papers*, and the calendarer, Mr. James Gairdner, has also written on them, pointing out the records of greater value, in his *Lollardy and the Reformation*, etc.

Of our pre-Reformation monasteries and convents, the most consistent at this crisis were the Carthusians of Sheen and London and the Bridgettines of Syon, Isleworth. To some extent they kept together, went into exile, and so preserved their corporate existence. Indeed, the Bridgettine Nuns still continue at Chudleigh, Devon, where they preserve many interesting memorials of their wanderings, and some records too, but none for this reign. The Carthusians retired to Bruges, and Maurice Chauncey, their historian, was in time their Prior. They were eventually suppressed by Joseph II. in 1783, but a few of their records are still in the keeping of the English Augustinian Nuns, who yet remain in that town.

§ V.—EDWARD VI. AND MARY

9. For the short and confused reigns of Edward VI. and Mary there are but few records, and the same dearth will also be found for the reign of James II. The probable explanation is that each was followed by some form of revolution, which impeded or prevented the transfer of papers and correspondence from the outgoing to the incoming

Ministries, the State Paper Office (1578) not being yet in existence. With regard to the short Tudor reigns, we see that in each case the Crown is the *primum agens*—all else mechanically follows suit. Now it pulls down chantries, guilds, and ancient doctrines; now replaces them with wonderful facility. But there is never popular discussion, election, or pronouncement. We cannot expect adequate records of private opinions, and we are left with hardly any accessible evidence on the part of the old religion. The Bishops' Registers appear to be almost complete, but only one (St. David's) seems to have been printed (see No. 1 of the present series). When they are more studied, their authority will doubtless be recognised as paramount.

10. Next after Queen Mary, Cardinal Pole is the chief leader of the time. He has left a large correspondence, of which four volumes are printed (1744), and there is as much more in manuscript (*Roman Transcripts*, P.R.O.). But relatively few of the letters are about England, and their main interest is literary. Pole's "Pension Book" at P.R.O. is full and valuable.

Some characteristic names: Bishops Heath, Gardiner, Bonner, and Tunstall; Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel; Sir Thomas Tresham; Sir Henry Bedingfeld (custodian of Princess Elizabeth); John Storey, D.C.L.

John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, with many attacks on the old order, contains also not a few pieces of evidence about its followers which should be accepted as historical. Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials* should also be examined.

§ VI.—ELIZABETH

11. The long reign of Elizabeth, 1558 to 1603, was of primary importance for religion, not in this country only, but in all neighbouring lands. Hitherto the Reformation had not permanently advanced beyond the Rhine; but through Elizabeth it not only prevailed in England, but also in Scotland and in Holland; it invaded France, it ravaged the Spanish Main, it settled in America. The whole of her reign was in one sense a Protestant crusade. Confining our attention to these islands, we see the old religion reduced to the utmost peril, and passing through its hour of anguish. But it emerged with renewed life, though with very reduced numbers.

While Elizabeth's advisers, whom she invariably followed in times of crisis, were always firm, sometimes even cruel, enemies of the old Church, she herself went through different stages of opposition.

(A) ELIZABETH NOT YET FINALLY WEDDED
TO REFORM (1558-1565)

The events which chiefly affected the followers of the old order were—the Succession; the Coronation and its oath; the Westminster Conferences; the election of Parliament and the Bills of Supremacy and Uniformity; the imprisonment or internment of all survivors of Mary's hierarchy; the early visitations; the proposed marriages with Spain, France, and Austria; the Wars of Religion in Scotland and France; the invitations to Trent.

12. The fullest and most interesting Catholic witness of the first changes is Il Schifanoja (see the

Venetian Calendar). Then the Spanish dispatches become very important. Don Alvaro de la Quadra, Bishop of Aquila (1559-1563), and Don Guzman de Silva (1564-1568), Philip's envoys, behaved with great discretion and kept the Queen's ear in spite of many obstacles (*Spanish Calendar*). In 1562 we have a long and detailed report of Dr. Nicholas Sander, printed in *Rome Calendar*. In 1564 began the controversy between Jewel and the Oxonians, now exiles at Louvain, etc.

Of these the principal were W. Allen, H. Cole, A. Cope, T. Dorman, J. Martial, N. Harpsfield, R. Poyntz, J. Rastell, N. Sander, T. Stapleton, L. Vaux. Other characteristic names of this period are N. Heath, E. Bonner, C. Tunstall, and the other survivors of the ancient hierarchy; Lord Montague, Sir Thomas White, Doctor Storey, Sir Francis Englefield.

(B) ELIZABETH FINALLY THROWS IN HER LOT WITH THE REFORMERS (1565-1575)

13. The determining factor here is Mary Stuart. Had she played her cards aright, toleration for the old religion might have come sooner. As it was, in a moment of enthusiasm she married the worthless Darnley, and when, among the many troubles which followed, he was assassinated, she became vehemently and justly suspected, through not exacting justice. Revolution followed, she was made prisoner, and her chance of preserving the old religion was gone, though at first her gentle diplomatic measures had been very successful. While Elizabeth's Ministers had steadily encouraged

her rebellious subjects, Elizabeth herself was not at first unfavourable to her. Still, when Mary fled into England in 1568, Elizabeth immediately interned her for life.

But this and other jealous measures produced the impression which Elizabeth wished to avoid. She had made her erring sister into a martyr. People could not but remember that Mary was the legitimist heir to the throne; indeed, though there was then an Act against her, every Sovereign since has claimed through her. Hence followed the Rising of the North in her favour, 1569; the Excommunication, 1570; the flamboyant but empty negotiations called Ridolfi's Plot, 1571. Elizabeth, infuriated, now identified herself with her Ministers, and further harsh laws followed in 1572.

But the Bull of Excommunication, which thus seemed to be the occasion of terrible harm to the old religion, proved in the end its salvation. It awoke the minds of most to the true character of the Tudor tyranny, which domineered over conscience, as it did over other liberties.

The old religion had all along given its witness as to the doctrines in dispute with the New Learning, and by the excommunication it had spoken on the policy of the temporal ruler seizing spiritual supremacy. Its third task was to reorganise and to breathe new life into its much scattered and diminished flock. The man of the moment here was William, afterwards Cardinal, Allen. He founded an ecclesiastical seminary, first at Douai,

then at Rheims, from which the first priests returned in 1574. Under the shelter of this foundation, and of similar colleges which followed, the records of the nascent Church could again be preserved.

For the Catholic side of Mary's reign in Scotland, besides her letters (ed. Labanoff), see Pollen, *Papal Negotiations with Queen Mary*, 1901; J. Stevenson, *Claude Nau's Narrative*, Teulet's *Papiers d'Etat* or *Relations Politiques*, etc. For the English affairs, see *State Trials*; also Trial Records in the *Baga de Secretis*; the Coram Rege, and Controlment Rolls. There is also abundant correspondence at P.R.O., at Hatfield: *The Douay Diaries*, ed. Knox, 1878. The original Bull of Excommunication is in the Vatican Archives, printed in the *Bullarium*; also in N. Sander, *De Schismate Anglicano*, and Camden's *Elizabeth*; reproduced in Pollen, *English Catholics under Queen Elizabeth*.

(C) ELIZABETH IN ADVANCED HOSTILITY (1575-1588)

14. The period opens with war against Spain in the Netherlands, and with prolonged courtings from the younger Duke of Anjou. The love-makers often descended to extravagant flirtations, but the religious negotiations were sincerely meant by the French, who abandoned the match when these transactions proved nugatory. Meantime the religious revival went forward. Priests came in, and were martyred with growing frequency. The first was Mayne in 1576, then Campion, Sherwin, and Bryant in 1581. Fathers Campion and Persons had been leaders in the great revival of 1580. In 1588 the annual victims exceeded thirty in number. This barbarity had become possible

by the "plot mania," which took its final shape through the repeated Spanish attempts against the Prince of Orange, who was finally assassinated on July 10, 1584. The nation was thereupon inflamed to madness, and the new Parliament of 27 Elizabeth sanctioned the terrible death of a traitor for every priest coming into England. The blind belief was that, as the Pope's men, they were bound to support all the wrong deeds of the Catholics abroad.

15. At the same time, 1585, (Sir) George and Gilbert Gifford, Walsingham's *agents-provocateurs*, involved Morgan (Mary's rash and unprincipled agent in Paris) in treason against Elizabeth, and through him John Ballard (a priest, but ambitious of acting the politician), Anthony Babington (a dreamy philosopher with real grievances). By the dexterous use of the Spanish arguments for the assassination of Orange, first one Gifford, then the other, succeeded in gathering a little band of conspirators; and finally a note announcing Babington's plan for Mary's liberation and Elizabeth's death was carried to Chartley by Gilbert Gifford. But it had been read by Walsingham *en route*, and was delivered resealed. Not suspecting the trap, Mary approved the plan of escape, passing over the assassination in silence. This was enough.

When the others had been executed, she was tried for her life. Her opponents attacked her with the fury of persecutors, she responded with the heroism of a martyr, and her death (February 8,

1587) was sometimes taken as martyrdom by her followers.

As every letter had been similarly carried and read *en route*, there was clearly no great danger to Elizabeth, and still more is this true of the other so-called plots of this reign. The "plot mania" arose out of religious-political excitement, rather than from objective evidence, though in the Wars of the Netherlands imprecations against Elizabeth were, of course, frequently heard among her enemies.

16. Meantime the ponderous forces of often-flouted Spain were becoming mobilised. In September, 1585, Antwerp was recovered from the Dutch, and the Spanish position in Flanders was stabilised. But at the same time Drake was ravaging the Spanish colonies in America. Philip II. at last saw that he could, and now must, fight in self-defence. His Armada eventually sailed on the 12th of July, 1588, and was finally defeated on the 29th. Yet the effort had done some good to Spain; the defence of her colonies was hereafter better managed.

UNPUBLISHED SOURCES.—See above 3, 4, 5; P.R.O., *Domestic and Foreign Papers*, Hatfield MSS.

PRINTED SOURCES.—See below 43, under Gachard, Kretschmar, Lettenhove, etc.

FOR CATHOLIC REVIVAL.—Morris, *Troubles*; *C.R.S.*, vols. v., xxi. *Martyrs*; xviii. *Recusants Roll*.

Trials after 27 Elizabeth are at Assizes (see, e.g. Cordy Jeaffreson, *Middlesex Records*). For Babington, etc., see Pollen, *Babington Plot* (in press); J. Morris, *Sir Amias Paulet*; Chantelauze, *Bourgoing*, and *Scottish Calendars*.

(D) ELIZABETH'S RIGOUR BEGINS TO RELAX

17. The great Queen was now at the summit of her glory. The removal of Mary had obviated the scruples of many. A third generation had sprung up, which had never known the old religion, except through hostile channels; and now, with the deaths of Leicester, Walsingham, and Burghley (1588, 1592, 1598), Elizabeth became somewhat more humane. Though the prisons remained full, and the annual slaughter of priests went on, the number of victims diminished. Later on, she pursued a policy of *divide et impera*, and thanked the French Ambassadors for befriending the "appellant priests" against their Archpriest. She finally acknowledged that a "stiff Papist" could be "a good subject," which she had before "believed impossible" (*D.N.B.*, under Edward Somerset). Another indication of improving conditions was the institution by the Pope, 1598, of an Archpriest, George Blackwell, to preside over the clergy.

18. Meantime the peace of Europe, so long disturbed by Reformation wars, began to reach stability. Henri IV. of France was fully recognised as a Catholic by the Pope, September 17, 1595; and with that France was in due course united on his side. Then, after a celebrated decree, called the *Edict of Nantes*, April, 1598, he made peace with Spain at Vervins on the 2nd of May following. Hopes were entertained abroad that England would join in the Peace, and the Cecils

were in its favour. But the war-party under Essex succeeded in blocking the proposal till the end of the reign.

(E) SCOTLAND

19. If the old Church could have maintained itself in Scotland until James's accession, its prospects would have been far brighter. But the closing decade was less fortunate than that which had preceded. The counter-Reformation had been begun by missionaries from England, especially William Watts and Father William Holt, S.J., in 1581, who were hospitably received. At first Esmé Stuart, Duke of Lennox, James's favourite, who resented having been forced into Presbyterianism by the Kirk, made large offers of help, but these came to nothing with his fall and premature death. Then Father James Gordon, S.J., brother of the fourth Earl of Huntly, after 1584, powerfully revived the survivors of the ancient religion. Tolerated and even favoured at first by King James, a Catholic party, of which George, fifth Earl of Huntly, was leader, struggled to save the residue of the old Church. But the violence of the Kirk, backed by England, and sometimes aided by King James, crushed every dissentient. The Catholic Earls submitted on May 10, 1597, and henceforward their party sank into insignificance.

The details of this struggle are as yet little known. The English dispatches on such incidents as the

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Spanish Blanks, the battle of Glenlivet, the excommunication of the Earls, give one side of the story at some length. But the Catholic records, preserved in the Vatican, at Simancas, or in Jesuit archives, are so far very imperfectly published; nor have we any definite information of the parts taken by English spies or provocateurs, such as Robert Bruce of Binnie or John Cecil.

(F) THE SUCCESSION

20. Elizabeth's tyrannical freak of suppressing by the "Statute of Silence," 23 Eliz., c. 2, every allusion to the succession, and even the most necessary constitutional precautions in its regard, led to some strange developments. Looking back, it seems clear that James had the best claim. But at the time this was not obvious. Acts of Parliament and previous traditions barred the claim, and the jealousy of the English against the Scots seemed an insurmountable obstacle. There were also several English nobles who had claims, as Arabella Stuart, the Earls of Hertford, of Derby, of Huntingdon, and the Poles, but each claimant had his weak point or several weak points. Finally, there were also foreign descendants from Edward III., inferior to the above strictly speaking, and yet so little inferior that their partisans might often consider them superior. Such were the Dukes of Parma and the King of Spain. The question was further complicated by Mary Stuart leaving her claim to King Philip, who in turn left it to his

daughter, the Infanta Isabel; and many Catholics abroad, especially those in Flanders, at first sided with her.

While it eventually did James more good than harm that his strongest competitors were so far removed from the traditions and affections of the people, he was also active in pushing his claims among foreign Catholics themselves by numerous envoys, travellers, and even by refugees of the same faith, such as Robert, Lord Sempill; William Colonel Sempill; John Ogilvy of Poury; Edward Drummond; Robert, Lord Crichton of Sanquhar; Sir Anthony Standen; James Wood, laird of Boniton; Sir James Lindsay. Though not all consistent Catholics, they belonged on the whole to that side, and in general their object was to show that James was moderate, friendly, and would be a good neighbour. These truths were sometimes diversified by unexpected proposals for war or marriage, which led the English intelligencers into making strange reports concerning their authors. James's energetic struggle with the Kirk at this period caused many foreign Catholics to believe that he was a Catholic at heart, and they eventually welcomed his accession with enthusiasm.

MS. SOURCES.—Rome, Spain, Westminster Archives, Stonyhurst, Petyt MSS. at Inner Temple; P.R.O. Recusant Rolls (see Nos. 3, 4, 35, 36).

PUBLISHED SOURCES.—Cath. Rec. Soc., xxi.; Foley; Morris's *Gerard*; Tierney's *Dodd*; Law, *Archpriest Controversy*; idem, *Jesuits and Seculars*.

AUTHORS.—Couzard, *Une Ambassade à Rome sous Henri IV.*;

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Pollen, *The Institution of Archpriest Blackwell*; Usher, *Reconstruction of the English Church*; Bliss and Guiney, *Recusant Poetry*; Grosart, *Rob. Southwell*; Gerard's *Henry Garnet in Month*, 1898.

SCOTLAND.—Scottish Hist. Soc., 1893; Law, *Scottish Catholic Documents*; W. Forbes Leith, *Narratives*; P. F. Tytler, *History*.

THE SUCCESSION.—While the English Catholics also eventually decided for James, they were previously divided, and a party among the exiles, of which Father Persons, S.J., was then the representative, brought out "N. Doleman, *Conference on the Next Succession*"; the penman may have been R Verstegan.

§ VII.—JAMES I.

21. From henceforward the followers of the old religion, though revived by the new spirit called the counter-Reformation, are few in number, and by consequence of little weight in State affairs. Hence again diminished attention in the State Papers; and the obscurity was increased by a sort of *disciplina arcani*, practised by the faithful, something like that which held under the early persecutions. In spite of humane tendencies in the Stuart King, the traditional use of recusant fines, imprisonment, and executions continued, with varying and generally lessening rigour. On the other hand, foundations abroad were multiplying where religion could be practised integrally, and records and books written and preserved (see § XII., p. 36).

When James saw the universal welcome with which he was acclaimed, he is reported to have exclaimed: "Na, na, we'll not need the Papists noo." It is easy to see what irritation this would

have caused, even to his most enthusiastic advocates on the Catholic side; and when his acts began to correspond with his words, two plots ensued. Of the Bye Plot the documents are fairly well known through Tierney and Gardiner.

22. Of the Powder Plot there are numerous documents (which, however, refer chiefly to the trial) in *Gunpowder Plot Book*, at P.R.O., which is also calendared. For the broader historical aspects note should be taken of—(1) *the circumstances of discontentment*, indicated above; (2) *the character of Catesby*, an ideal conspirator, of gentle birth, not always a Catholic, but now over-eager in its cause, at least after his arraignment with the Earl of Essex in February, 1601. He had found out about the Papal briefs of 1600 (Gardiner, *History*, i., 98). The Simancas Archives (Estado 972) show that these briefs were elicited by someone in England during Elizabeth's sickness (conceivably, therefore, by one of Catesby's clique), and were intended to prepare the ground for the possibility of a Roman Catholic successor. They were burned after James's accession. Just before that Catesby had been confined, as a precautionary measure, by Government order, so well was his nature known. So long as James was tolerant, Catesby was true to his duty. When the recusant fines became higher than ever and the annual martyr-roll approached Elizabeth's standard, while the Spaniards could give no diplomatic aid towards toleration, Catesby began the Powder Plot.

A controversy, worthy of attention from record students, arose in 1897 between Father John Gerard, S.J., and the historian Dr. Samuel Gardiner. Gerard declared that almost every particular in the traditional story of the plot was coloured and untrustworthy. Gardiner replied by showing that reality underlay almost all such particulars. Yet the history thus restored was not "the traditional story," but the moderate and authentic version which Gardiner had previously published.

23. The Powder Plot was also exploited in order to revive the former persecution. Educated as Salisbury had been in Elizabeth's worst period, this cannot cause surprise. Several priests and laymen were executed under the law of 27 Elizabeth, and Father Henry Garnet, S.J., for supposed participation in the plot. Though quite innocent of this, his cause has difficulties, some of them depending on his duty as a priest. On these technical points the writings of his co-religionists should be consulted. Finally, an oath was elaborated, called the *Oath of Allegiance* (3 James I., c. 4), in order to paralyse and divide them, which, like all religious tests imposed by enemies, was full of objectionable snares. Though none were more ready to swear allegiance than the Catholics, they were here further required to swear, in effect, that those who held that the Pope, or anyone else, could dispense from the right divine of Kings to govern wrong were "impious, heretical, and

damnable," etc., and this "according to the plain meaning of the words." - This made many conscientious men unable to take the oath. Its imposition, however, continued intermittently until the Test Oaths of 1672, 1678.

The oath soon led to extensive controversy. Having been condemned by the Pope, it was defended by James himself, by Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, William Barlow, etc., while the Papal censure was upheld by Cardinal Bellarmine and many others. As the Bourbon regalists in France were defending absolutist doctrines (especially the so-called "Gallican liberties"), not so very different from those of King James, the controversy spread to that country also. The answers of Bellarmine and Suarez were burned by the hangman at Paris, and Pierre de Moulin defended James's oath, whilst several others wrote against it.

Queen Anne of Denmark had changed her religion while still in Scotland, and she apparently persevered till her death. But she kept all religious observances so secret that her creed almost escaped notice; she never intervened in favour of her co-religionists.

24. Towards the end of the reign, 1623, came the ineffective negotiations for the *Spanish Match*. The persecuting statutes were for the time suspended, and at first Charles made good progress at Madrid. But after six months he or Buckingham broke off the negotiations, and they returned to England, more irritated than conciliated by their experiences.

For the Spanish documents at Simancas, see the lists in Sanchez, pp. 74, 75. Some Vatican and French documents are printed by Stevenson, the *Month*, December, 1879. The negotiations with Flanders, 1598-1628, so important for Catholicism, are fully described in L. Willaert, *Negotiations*, 1908. For the "Blackfriars' Accident," 1623, see Foley (36, below).

§ VIII.—CHARLES I. AND THE CIVIL WAR

25. Until the Civil War began, the Roman Catholic party were more prosperous under Charles I. than they had ever been since the Reformation. The English Jesuits, for instance, whose statistics are published, were more numerous in the year 1637 than they were again until the latter half of the nineteenth century (Foley, *Records S.J.*, vii., clxviii.). But this prosperity was not so much due to the toleration of King Charles (though that was, of course, a beneficent circumstance) as to the wide spiritual movement called the Counter-Reformation, which reached its greatest extent in France and Flanders about this time, and was reflected also in the Laudian revival. On the whole, the party appeared but little in public, and occasions of real or affected offence were almost unheard of. But the explanation of this was largely because their unpopularity was laid upon Queen Henrietta Maria. Though Charles, when under unfriendly influences, could even be cruel to her, as in the dismissal of her French chaplains, he was on the whole both tolerant and affectionate, and he allowed her to have an agent in Rome (Arthur Brett and Sir

W. Hamilton), while a Roman agent addressed to her (Gregorio Panzani, William Conn, and Count Rosetti) lived in London from 1635 to 1641. They sent off every Wednesday long letters (still extant) on Catholic affairs. Their main object was to keep order between the missionary priests. For while persecution made it impossible to have a Bishop at their head, the fervent spirit of the age too often led individuals, colleges, or orders into partisanship or other extremities. The agents managed this part of their duty well, but were less felicitous in their political sympathies with the King and Queen. Trained in ideals of government even more paternal than those affected by Charles, they were of little use in suggesting that moderation which was then above all things necessary.

There are fairly complete copies of this abundant correspondence. R.O., *Roman Transcripts*: with other copies, B.M., Add. 15,350, etc. (*Marini Transcripts*). Panzani's *Memoirs* (1634 to 1646), tr. by J. Berington; his negotiations with Laud (1643) in Somers's *Tracts*.

26. When the Puritans gained the upper hand, the old days of persecution returned. The worst of the old laws were once more put into force. Priests were again butchered in public, and the lot of the laity was deplorable. Their houses were sacked, their property confiscated, their children educated perforce as Presbyterians. The King at first exerted himself to save the priests, especially the eight condemned in December, 1641, and eventually they were all left to die of prison hardships. Pretended Popish plots kept the mob

in a ferment, but the Irish Rebellion gave an occasion for this credulity. This hurricane, if it rose suddenly, passed away in a few years, and its declining activity was exercised chiefly in the confiscation of property.

Of these confiscations much may be learnt from the Calendars of the "Committee for Compounding." The period is one memorable rather for ruins than records. Those of the Catholics are but scanty and scattered, but they are found in many collections, such as the Clarendon Papers, the many memoirs of exiled Royalists, and the like. The French and Venetian Ambassadors will probably be found to give the fullest contemporary Catholic accounts of Catholic fortunes. For the "Clerkenwell Discovery," 1628, see *Camden Miscellanea II.*

§ IX.—CHARLES II. AND JAMES II.

27. While the Royalist and Catholic parties found much relief under Charles II., the latter were expressly refused the toleration which was graciously extended to Dissenters, and the banishment of all priests was ordered soon after. A proclamation against them was issued in 1663, and great odium was excited after the Fire of London, which was mischievously attributed to them; but no active persecution followed. For the years 1678 to 1682 Titus Oates, supported by the Earl of Shaftesbury, excited almost to madness the bigotry of the multitude, and gained control over Parliament. The sufferings under this persecution were once more acute; priests and lay folk were executed, the prisons were filled, and a reign of terror ensued. But eventually the storm passed without serious additions to the penal laws.

In 1903 J. Pollock put forward a new theory of Oates's Plot, which was discussed not in the reviews only, but also by A. Lang, J. Gerard, and others.

In 1673 James, Duke of York, secretly changed his religion, and by degrees the interests of his co-religionists became merged in his until the Revolution. After his accession (1683) his rule was at first temperate and constitutional, but after the failure of Monmouth's rebellion he came obsessed with the idea that, if he wanted to assist his co-religionists, he must do so at high speed. So while many of his measures showed that unscrupulousness about the Constitution which characterised all the Stuarts, even his constitutional measures were urged with a vehemence which made them suspect. No sooner was a son born than revolution followed, and he was deserted even by his own children.

28. The fullest source for information as to James II.'s religious policy is probably furnished by the dispatches of the Papal agent, Count Ferdinand d'Adda (afterwards Archbishop of Amasia), Add. MSS. 15,395, etc. (see also 34,507 to 34,512, Mackintosh's MS. collections). There are also abundant papers at Modena, Florence, and elsewhere, but there are remarkable deficiencies. There is little at the Record Office; all Catholic establishments in England were destroyed by mob violence. Not a single letter survives written by Father Petre, S.J., nor one to him. For the later Stuarts there are numerous sources. *Historical*

MSS. Commission gives five volumes to *Stuart Papers*, at Windsor; Roxburghe Club two volumes, 1843, 1889; J. H. Glover another volume, 1847; Campana de Cavelli, *Derniers Stuarts*, Onno Klopp, *Fall des Hauses Stuart*, etc., and many memoirs.

§ X.—THE DULL CENTURIES (1688 to 1829)

29. William III.'s policy differed from that of the Cecils, Cromwell, and Shaftesbury. They wished to create, or to keep, power to extirpate at short notice. William and the Whigs aimed at slow extinction by steady pressure. Their measures were—double taxes, no offices, no votes, no professions, no education; no horse worth more than five pounds; younger sons on conforming to oust the Catholic heir; one hundred pounds reward for an informer whose evidence convicted a priest of saying Mass. Illiberal and un-English though this was, it ended the reign of violence, and so prepared for the era of record-keeping, though that was still deferred by violent measures after 1715, 1745, and by the Gordon Riots, 1780. The number of adherents to the old religion was also gradually brought very low, and they reached their minimum by the first Relief Bill, 1779, when they were estimated by some at only 60,000. Their property, too, was much encumbered; the convents abroad were steadily shrinking and oppressed by bad debts. The passing of a second and more adequate Emanci-

pation Bill was deferred by a number of small hitches, which under the party system sufficed to block the measure for fifty years, until it was carried by the vigour of O'Connell in 1829.

But the keeping of such records as baptismal registers had begun much earlier. Up to the first Emancipation Act, however, and even later, they were kept in pocket-books, easily hidden, and also, alas! easily lost. It was only after 1829 that such signs of previous oppression were entirely laid aside.

CHARACTERISTIC TOPICS AND PERSONS.—The Revolution Settlement; the exiled Stuarts; the Rebellions of 1715, 1745; the Gordon Riots; Bishops Richard Challoner, John Milner, and William Poynter.

E. Burton, *Life of Bishop Challoner*; Estcourt and Payne, *English Catholic Non-Jurors*, 1885; J. Morris, *Catholic England in Modern Times*, 1892 (reprinted from *Month*, 1891); T. Murphy, *Catholic Church in England during the Last Two Centuries*, 1892; J. O. Payne, *Old English Catholic Missions*, 1889; also *Records of English Catholics of 1715*, 1900 (from "Forfeited Estate Papers"); B. Ward, *Dawn of Catholic Revival* and *Eve of Catholic Emancipation*, 1909-1912.

§ XI.—ARCHIVES AND MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT

30. As in all archive researches, it is necessary here to have some clue to the administrative machinery on the lines of which the records have been deposited. Returning, therefore, to the break with the Papal jurisdiction made by the Tudors, we find at first the only remedy attempted was to make Pole a Cardinal Legate, and it was through his often-renewed legation that all Papal attempts at counter-reformation were made. After his short-lived success, 1556 to 1558, Eliza-

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beth enforced her settlement of religion by keeping all survivors of the ancient hierarchy under restraint till their deaths. This, if unremedied, would in time have cut off all flow of Papal jurisdiction in the land. The Pope, therefore, acting as Apostolic or Universal Bishop, at first (1564) appointed Sander and a few other simple priests to act as subdelegators; but after about 1579 Dr. Allen, president of Douai Seminary, was entrusted with this power, and he became in time a Cardinal, resident in Rome, and practically Patriarch until his death in 1594. After four years George Blackwell, residing in London, was appointed Archpriest till 1608. Then George Birkhead succeeded till 1614; and finally William Harrison, who died in 1621.

31. Charles I. being now about to marry a Roman Catholic, a Bishop with his see in foreign parts (Chalcedon) was sent—(1) William Bishop, 1623 to 1624; (2) Richard Smith, 1625, retired 1631, and died 1655; (3) John Leyburn (Bishop of Adrumetum), 1685 to 1702; (4) Bonaventure Gifford (Madaura), d. 1734; (5) Benjamin Petre (Prusa), d. 1758; (6) Richard Challoner (Debra), d. 1781; (7) James Talbot (Birtha), d. 1790; (8) John Douglass (Centuria), d. 1812; (9) William Poynter (Halia), d. 1827, etc.

The above dates are of value, not merely because of the events to which they are here attached, but also because changes of administration are commonly accompanied by discussion, by surveys

of past administration, and the settlement of future policy. Thus the appointment of Blackwell occasioned "the Appellant controversy," and the retirement of Bishop Smith was very keenly debated; numerous records are extant of both litigations.

32. The Minister in the Roman Court to whom English affairs were ordinarily referred was styled the Cardinal Protector of England. No list of them has yet been published. It should comprise the following names from 1535 to 1622: Cardinals Pole, Moroni, Enrico Gaetano; Edoardo Farnese; Francesco Barberini, etc.

In 1622 the newly established Congregation de Propaganda Fide took the place of the Protector for ordinary business. For the contents of its ample archives, to which, however, the public are not admitted, see Guilday in § XVI.

Church legislation may be said to begin by the granting of privileges, often in some bull or brief of foundation. Further steps are often taken after litigation or discussion, the sentence or decision becoming a precedent or rule for further action. The English College in Rome, situated near the source of legislation, was well looked after in this respect, its papal grants and privileges becoming precedents for similar ordinations elsewhere. Its foundation bull (May 1, 1580) is printed in the *Bullarium*; the *Visitation* of 1585 is printed by Meyer; that of 1597 by Foley; the decrees of 1624 by Tierney (see § XVI.).

33. The relations between the Regular clergy and Episcopal government were regulated by the brief "Britannia," May 9, 1631, and by "Plantata," July 12, 1633; then by the decree of October 6, 1695, solemnly confirmed October 5, 1696. After another half-century legislation was continued in decrees of 1745 and 1748, which were confirmed by the *Regulæ Missionis* issued by Benedict XIV., May 31, 1753.

As so many Catholics lived and worked in France and Flanders, they were naturally much affected by the ideas prevalent there on Regalism, Jansenism, Gallicanism, and other fashions prevalent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Only one English divine, however, Thomas White *alias* Blackloe (1593-1676), acquired any notoriety for laxity of teaching. Though so much debated, the influence of the errors of the day was very slight in this country. Out of over four thousand authors now on the Roman Index, only thirty or so are English.

§ XII.—THE FOUNDATION MOVEMENT, 1606 TO 1633

34. The great Counter-Reformation movement, long held in check in France by the Wars of Religion, reached its zenith with the religious peace made by Henri IV. Then it spread to England just when it became clear, after the Powder Plot, that James would continue Elizabeth's policy of

persecution. After this zealous souls, who had hoped against hope for freedom, perceived that, if they were to have religious houses at all, they must build at once, and in Catholic Flanders. Hence the foundation of some sixty religious households, peculiarly stable and conservative, which, to say nothing of their religious character, must be mentioned here as having preserved the records which it was unsafe to keep in England. Not only did each foundation keep at least accounts, a "register," and an "obituary" of its members, which were to some extent biographical and genealogical: they also kept correspondence, perhaps also a "chronicle," and narratives of the escapes of its members in the journeys abroad. Nearly all the existing Catholic archives owe their existence to this movement. Colleges for training priests had begun earlier; after 1614 the clergy began to move for the appointment of a Bishop. They founded a Dean and Chapter in London, and established agencies at Paris and Rome, for financial and general purposes. The history of this movement has been published lately by Dr. Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent*, with full indications of records.

But the greater part of the archives which grew up in the houses founded abroad unfortunately perished amid the furies of the French Revolutionary movement. These were ushered in by the suppression of the Jesuits, 1760 to 1773, in which quantities of historical materials were ignorantly destroyed.

With the enforced flight of all communities to England in 1793 and 1794, records perished wholesale. Some were forgotten, some lost, some abandoned. In the general ruin little heed was at first paid to old papers. Even in England losses continued. Homes were not always found at once; some historical communities (as the Franciscans and Carthusians) had died out before the Emancipation, 1829.

There are considerable *reliquiæ* of English foundations on the Continent in the Libraries and Archives of Brussels, Douai, Lille, and Ghent, and where foundations had been made in France.

§ XIII.—EXISTING ARCHIVES

35. (A) THE SECULAR CLERGY.—They had originally the seminary of Douai (1568-1794, at Rheims 1578-1594), which was in a sense the mother-house of all such foundations, but its archives were lost at the Revolution. Its *Diarium*, however, has survived, and is now printed. The clergy had also colleges at Lisbon and at Paris. From a record point of view their “agencies” at Rome and Paris, for administrative and financial purposes, are more important still. The correspondence of their agents, which is often ample, and well preserved for later periods, forms the staple of the Westminster Archives. The miscellaneous volumes and papers have now been rearranged and rebound in a uniform series of thirty-four volumes up to 1715. The later years are even more copious, and the volumes are often in their original state.

Clifton, Southwark, and some other dioceses also have their own archives. The former is especially strong in correspondence relating to Emancipation; the latter has received valuable legacies from such collectors as Canon Tierney and Dr. Rock. The chief colleges for the clergy, as Oscott, St. Edmund's, Ushaw, have all some MS. collections. The old English colleges at Rome (see P.R.O., *Roman Transcripts*, Stevenson) and Valladolid still have considerable archives, though the historical sections are no longer in their prime. The MSS. of the "Old Clergy Brotherhood" (formerly "the Dean and Chapter") are of more than ordinary value.

36. (B) THE JESUITS.—Their headquarters were originally in the English College, Rome, then at St. Omer and Liège, whence, taking some boxfuls of books and papers, they came to Stonyhurst in Lancashire in 1794. Afterwards, however, they recovered several codices and many books, which they had originally left behind.

If the Jesuits still controlled all the establishments they once administered, they would have possessed most ample records, for they once had more colleges than any other Catholic corporation. But during the Revolutionary epoch they lost almost everything. For the Stonyhurst Archives, see the *Historical MSS. Commission Reports*, ii., iii., x. Besides a score of volumes from the old Rome Archives, there is a large collection of subsidiary and miscellaneous volumes. Many publications from this source have been made by J. Morris,

Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers, 1872, etc.; Henry Foley, *Records, S.J.*, 1877, etc. A great many English Jesuit papers remain in the public archives and libraries of Rome, Brussels, Ghent, etc., as before mentioned. The Reports called *Annual Letters* (*Litteræ Annuæ*) were printed contemporaneously from 1580 to 1650. But more ample manuscript editions (from which the printed versions were condensed) also exist, and were continued to a somewhat later date. There are brief annual sections for the different English, Irish, and Scottish colleges under Jesuit management, which treat of studies, students' adventures, etc., but the Latinised names, or even the entire omission of names for safety's sake, detracts much from their utility. There is a fairly complete set of the printed volumes at the British Museum.

37. (C) THE BENEDICTINES.—Their chief archives are now at Downside Abbey, Bath, and an account of them will be found in the *Downside Review* (vols. v., vi.). A number of papers in the same *Review*, especially those of Dom Gilbert Dolan, illustrate the results that may be obtained by archive work in post-Reformation Benedictine history.

(D) THE DOMINICANS, FRANCISCANS, CARMELITES.—Father Raymond Palmer, O.P., *Life of Cardinal Howard, Restorer of the Friar Preachers*, 1867, indicates the subject of the records preserved by the Dominicans, and the Catholic Record Society announce a volume of Dominican Records, prepared by Prior Bracey, O.P. (see also Historical MSS.

Commission, vol. ii.). Of the Franciscan records much may be learnt from Father Thaddeus, O.S.F., *The Franciscans in England, 1600 to 1850*, 1898. Their original register is preserved in the convent at Taunton. For the Carmelite Archives consult Father Benedict Zimmermann, *Carmel in England, from Documents of the Order*, 1899.

38. (E) CONVENTS.—All the old convents of nuns, except that of York, were founded on the Continent, and used to keep registers, chronicles, and other records. Most of these were lost at the French Revolution, but twelve remain, belonging to the convents at Bruges, Carisbrooke, Chudleigh, Darlington (both Carmelites and Poor Clares), Lanherne, New Hall, Newton Abbot, Stanbrook, Taunton, and Teignmouth (where they have the register of Pontoise, as well as their own). Dom Adam Hamilton has published the *Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses at Louvain, now of Newton Abbot, Devon*, 1904, and the Catholic Record Society has printed registers or records of the convents of Paris (Blue Nuns), Colwich, Darlington, East Bergholt, New Hall, Stanbrook, Teignmouth, and York.

39. (F) MUNIMENT ROOMS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC NOBILITY AND GENTRY.—Fear of keeping written papers, which might have proved very dangerous in penal times (when house-searching was enforced against them as late as 1745), discouraged or even prevented the rise of well-furnished muniment rooms among the Catholic nobility. The

findings of the *Historical MSS. Commission* strikingly confirm this. The very interesting *Tresham Papers* (see XV. below), saved because they had been walled up and forgotten for over two centuries, show us the sort of records which have been too regularly destroyed. On the other hand, there are some few exceptions, as *The Tyldesley Diary* (ed. J. Gillow), *The Bedingfeld Papers* (Cath. Rec. Soc., vol. vii.), etc. Though research in this field has been hitherto disappointing, patience and perseverance may yet lead to good results.

§ XIV.—CATHOLIC SOURCES FOR IRELAND AND SCOTLAND

40. As the fortunes of the party in the three realms were more or less identical, so the histories of their records run on parallel lines. In the public archives are numerous documents, but of a wholly hostile character: some Catholic archives descended from seventeenth-century collegiate or conventual establishments on the Continent; considerable sources in the Vatican, at Simancas, Salamanca, etc., and in the archives of Belgium and Northern France.

The Irish Catholics, though the more numerous, had the greater difficulties of transit to a land of liberty. Their small establishments were eventually consolidated in the eighteenth century into twelve colleges, the greater part of which, with 60 per cent. of the students, were in France; others

at Louvain, Salamanca, and Rome (P. Boyle, *Irish Colleges*, 1901). There were also a score of convents. But their archives suffered very, very severely at the Revolution; there remain, however, fairly numerous survivals at Salamanca (the University) and Louvain, also at Brussels and Rome. In Ireland itself, moreover, the Franciscans and others avoided suppression by retiring among the people, and so succeeded in preserving considerable relics of their ancient libraries. Hence the occurrence of great names among the friars of the sixteenth century, as the Four Masters, Colgan, O'Clery, and Luke Wadding (see *D.N.B.*). The convent of the latter in Rome, St. Isidore, was enriched by a great collection of documents, which have recently been taken back, and are now at Merchants' Quay, Dublin (*Historical MSS. Commission*, xvi.). The "Irish Martyrs," who suffered the extreme penalty under the tyrannical laws, or under mere violence, number two hundred and fifty-eight. The chief writers or editors who have described or edited their writings or sufferings are John Holing, S.J. (d. 1589); Bishop David Rothe, 1619; Luke Wadding, 1650; De Burgo, Bishop of Ossory, 1762; Cardinal P. F. Moran (his *Life of Archbishop Plunkett* is full of documents; *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, etc.); Denis Murphy, S.J., 1896; T. Fitzpatrick; M. O'Reilly; E. Hogan, S.J.; *The Irish Catholic Record Society*.

41. For Scottish Catholics archive difficulties were enormous, owing to the violence of their

Protestant compatriots. Scottish colleges and monasteries, however, were founded at Paris, Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid, Ratisbon. In Paris the archives were founded by James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, who in 1560 saved the registers of his see (now printed), with many other records. At the French Revolution, however, when an attempt was made to take them back again, the first consignment was entirely lost; but the remainder, comprising many letters of Mary Stuart (since printed by Labanoff), were eventually saved, and are now at Blairs College. There also have been gathered a considerable number of records which came to the Scottish Bishops after the Revolutionary period. The extant registers of the Scottish colleges are printed by the New Spalding Club, *Records of the Scots Colleges at Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid, and Ratisbon*, 1906. Only one Catholic was juridically executed for his faith, John Ogilvy, S.J., 1615, and the records concerning him are printed by James Forbes Leith, S.J. (1885). Some families, such as the Gordons, Earls of Huntly, were remarkably staunch in their faith, and it is likely that their family records may throw a good deal of light on the fortunes of their co-religionists. Scottish Jesuit papers at Stonyhurst have been used by W. Forbes Leith, S.J., in his *Narratives* and in his *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*, 1885 and 1909. The series of legal proceedings taken from time to time against Catholics is also here briefly calendared.

§ XV.—HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION

42. This Commission began its labours about fifty years ago, visiting, among many others, several Catholic establishments. But before long it was found that more fruitful results were obtained by producing detailed calendars of the more important collections than by issuing unco-ordinated notices of smaller collections, such as those noticed above. Still, it will be well to conclude this survey with a note of the score or so of such archives reported upon at different times. It should be remembered, however, that since these reports were issued the work of putting into order, cataloguing, and binding has made much progress. In respect of archive order, the following reports are not always up to date. (Roman numerals indicate the number of the Report.)

SECULAR CLERGY.—The “Chapter,” v.; Oscott, i., ii.; Ushaw, i.; Westminster, v.

BENEDICTINES, DOMINICANS, JESUITS.—Ampleforth, ii.; Stonyhurst, ii., iii., x.; Woodchester, ii.

MUNIMENT ROOMS.—Lord Herries, i.; N. W. Whitgreave, i.; Sir N. Throckmorton, iii., x., xiii.; The Duke of Norfolk and Lord E. Talbot, in *Various Collections*, ii., vii.; The Papers of Sir Thomas Tresham at Rushton Hall, *Ibid.*, iii.

IRELAND.—Franciscans at Louvain, iv.; Jesuits at Dublin, x.; Rinuccini MSS., ix.; Merchants' Quay, xvi.

SCOTLAND.—Buckie MSS., i.; Archbishop of Edinburgh, i.; Blairs College, ii.

§ XVI.—A FEW HINTS ON BOOKS AND AUTHORS

43. While a complete bibliography, even of the books indicated here and above, would take much space, it is hoped that the following list of authors and books, with abbreviated titles, will give a useful clue to searchers in any library furnished with a catalogue, to which it may be considered as a subject-index. This list does not repeat all the titles of books mentioned before. Where (as in the cases of Mary Tudor, James II., etc.) authors are numerous, an endeavour has been made to indicate by preference writers who are Roman Catholics. The letter (*b*) after a book indicates a special bibliography or good bibliographical notes. For MS. and printed sources see the sections above.

HISTORIES OF ENGLAND.—See Froude, Gardiner, Lingard, Rapin-Thoyras.

HISTORIES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN ENGLAND.—C. Dodd (Tootel H.), 1737; second edition by M. A. Tierney, 1839 (unfinished); T. Flanagan, 1857.

HISTORIES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SCOTLAND.—A. Bellesheim, Hunter Blair (*b*). P. F. Tytler, *History of Scotland*.

HISTORIES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN IRELAND.—A. Bellesheim, E. A. D'Alton.

PERIODS AND SECTIONS (see also the sections above).—Birt, *Elizabethan Settlement*, 1907 (*b*); Gachard, *Corr. de Philippe II.*, 1848; Cardinal F. A. Gasquet, *Eve of Reformation*, 1890; *Henry VIII. and English Monasteries* (*b*), 1888; *Old English Bible*, 1897; *Parish Life*, 1906; *Hampshire Recusants*; *The English College, Rome*, 1920; H. Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, 1898 (*b*); Bridgett, *Elizabeth and Hierarchy*, 1889 (*b*); Bayne, *Anglo-Roman Relations*, 1913 (*b*); P. Guilday, *English Catholic Refugees*, 1914 (*b*); J. Kretzschmar, *Invasionsprojecte*, 1892 (*b*); A. O. Meyer

and McKee, *England and Catholic Church*, 1916 (b); W. Maziere Brady, *Catholic Hierarchy*, 1877; J. Morris, *Letters of Sir Amias Paulet*, 1874.

BIOGRAPHIES.—*Bishop J. Fisher and Sir T. More*, T. Bridgett, etc. (b); *Mary Tudor*, Stone; *Cardinal Pole*, A. Zimmermann (b), M. Haile; *Cardinal Allen*, M. Haile; *Cardinal Howard*, R. Palmer; *The Cardinal of York*, H. M. Vaughan, A. Shield (b); *Henrietta Maria*, H. Haynes, 1912 (b); *James II.*, J. S. Clarke, 1816; *Memoirs*, ed. Clerke; T. Longueville, 1904; *Mary of Modena*, M. Haile; *Bishop W. Bishop*, Cath. Rec. Soc., vol. x.; *Bishop Challoner*, E. Burton (b); *Archbishop W. Gifford*, Haudecœur; *Bishop Milner*, F. C. Husenbeth, 1862; B. Ward (b); *Edmund Campion*, R. Simpson (b); *Lives of Martyrs*, Bishop R. Challoner, B. Camm (b); E. Burton (b); J. Pollen (b); *J. Roberts*, B. Camm (b); *Luisa de Carvajal*, E. Genings, Lady G. Fullerton; *M. Lady Montague*, R. Smith; *Anne, Countess of Arundel*, Anon., S.J., *Lady Jane Dormer*, H. Clifford; *Biographies*, J. Kirk.

INSTITUTIONS, ORDERS, COLLEGES, ETC.—*Brussels, O.S.B. Nuns, Chronicle of*, 1898, Anon.; *Carmelites*, B. Zimmermann; *Dominicans*, Palmer; *Douai College*, Haudecœur, Hodgson; *Jesuits*, H. More, G. Oliver, E. Taunton, H. Foley; *Lisbon College*, Croft; *Louvain St. Monica's*, A. Hamilton; *New Hall*, S. Smith; *Old Hall*, Doyle, B. Ward; *Stonyhurst*, J. Gerard; *Syon*, A. Hamilton; *Valladolid*, Blackfan, Croft, and Kirk.

LITERATURE.—Gillow, J., *Bibliographical Dictionary*, 1885; J. Pitts, *De Illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus*, 1619.

GENEALOGY.—See Baptismal Registers in Cath. Rec. Soc.; de Ruvigny, *Jacobite Peerage*; J. J. Howard, *R. Cath. Families*, 1887.

ANTIQUITIES.—Camm, *Forgotten Shrines*, 1911; T. E. Gibson, *Lydiat Hall*, 1876; and *Crosby Records*, 1887.

MEMOIR-WRITERS.—J. Gillow, *Haydock Papers*, and *Tyldesley Diary*, 1873; *Marwood's Diary*, Cath. Rec. Soc., vii., 1903; E. Castle, *Jerningham Letters*.

FAMILY HISTORY.—A. Jessopp, *One Generation of a Norfolk House* (Walpole); M. de Trenqualeon, *Les Carylls*, 1893; Brenan, *House of Howard*, 1907; *Bedingfeld Papers* in Cath. Rec. Soc., vii., 1903.

REVIEWS (with Historical Articles).—The *Dublin Review* (index in 1896); The *Month* (indexes in 1908, 1920); The *Downside Review*.

GENERAL REFERENCE BOOK (for Law, Literature, Institutions, etc., as well as History).—*The Catholic Encyclopædia*, 1907-1914.

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ENGLISH TIME-BOOKS

VOL. I

ENGLISH REGNAL YEARS AND TITLES,
HAND-LISTS, EASTER DATES, ETC.

HELPS FOR STUDENTS OF HISTORY. No. 40

EDITED BY C. JOHNSON, M.A., H. W. V. TEMPERLEY, M.A.,
AND J. P. WHITNEY, D.D., D.C.L.

ENGLISH TIME-BOOKS.—VOL. I.

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YEARS AND TITLES
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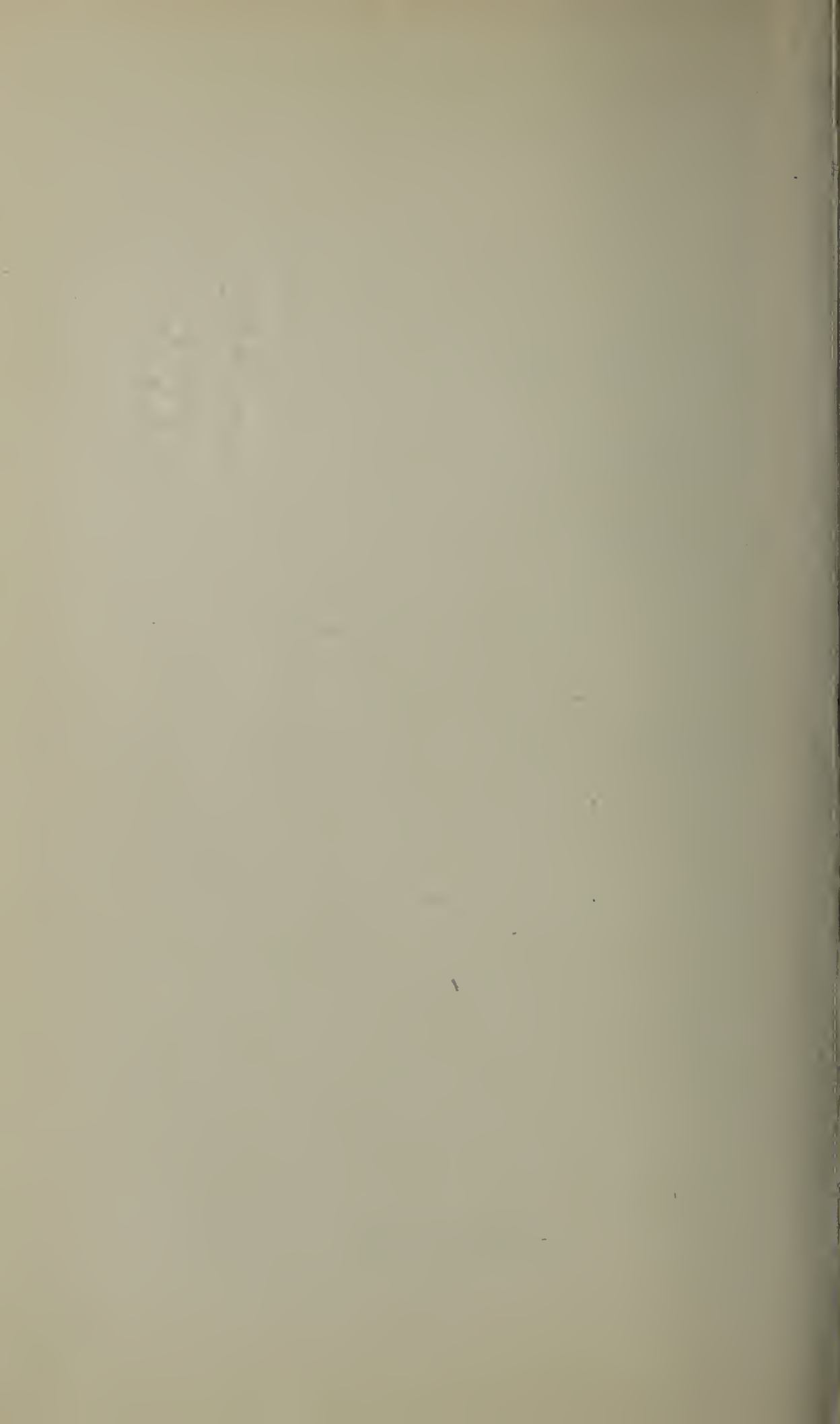
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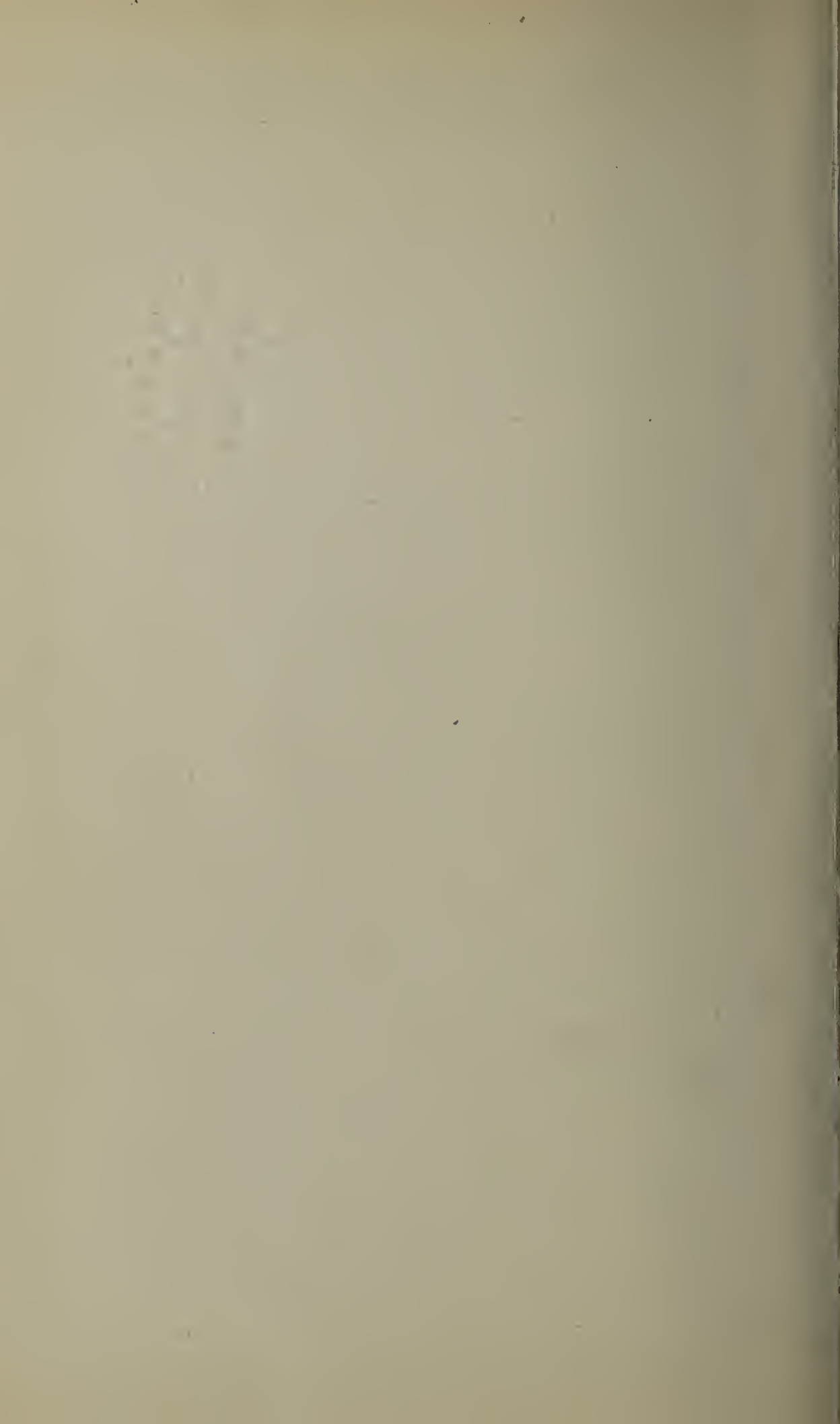
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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

THE system of dating a document in common vogue for three or four centuries after the reign of Richard I.¹ continually reminded men of their duty to the Catholic Church and the English State, for it was regulated by the Kalendars of both.

Let us consider two examples selected at random:²

1. *Datum apud Whalleye die Veneris proximo post festum translationis sancti Thome archiepiscopi et martyris anno regni regis Edwardi tertij post conquestum decimo.*

This date contains three elements: (a) The place at which the document was executed—*Whalley* ; (b) the day on which it was executed—the *Friday next after the Feast of the Translation of S. Thomas the archbishop and martyr* ; (c) the year in which it was executed—the *tenth year of the reign of King Edward the Third after the Conquest*. Passing over the date of place, we see that in order to write the date of time in our modern manner we require to know three things—viz., how the years of Edward III.'s reign were reckoned, when the Feast of the Translation of S. Thomas the archbishop and martyr was held every

¹ Saints' Days came into common use for dating from about 1230 onwards.

² Whalley Abbey Coucher Book, Vol. IV., pp. 1004, 1005.

year, and on what day of the month in that particular year was the Friday after that Feast.

2. *Datum apud Whalleye in vigilia Pentecostes anno regni regis Edwardi tertij a conquestu xvj°.*

This date contains the same three elements of place, day, and year as the preceding example. But there is this difference, that the day, *the Vigil of Pentecost*, depends upon a feast which we know may fall upon one of thirty-five different days according to the variable date of Easter. Before we can assign the date of day and month in this case, we must have means of ascertaining the dates each year of those Church festivals which were movable because regulated by Easter.

Altogether, therefore, we need to be able to find out at a glance:

1. Regnal Years, changing every reign.
2. Easter Days and Week-days, varying year by year.
3. Saints' Days and other fixed Holy Days of the Christian Year.

It is the purpose of these three books to provide the English historical student with this necessary material for his work. With their aid let us elucidate the two examples given above.

1. In the book of Regnal Years we see that *the tenth year of Edward III.* began on 25 Jan. 1335-6, and that the date of *Easter* in that year, which was a leap year, was 31 Mar. 1336. From the alphabetical list of Saints' Days we learn that *the Feast of the*

Translation of S. Thomas the archbishop and martyr was held annually on 7 *July*. Turn now to the book of Easter Tables and find the Table for 31 *Mar.*, *Secundum F*. In the list of years at the top check the presence of 1336*. Find 7 *July*: it was a Sunday: and look on in July till you come to the *Friday after*: it was the twelfth. The former date given as an example will therefore be written shortly as *Whalley, Friday, 12 Jul. 1336*.¹

2. The tables of Regnal Years show that 16 *Edw. III.* began 25 *Jan.* 1341-2, and that *Easter* fell on 31 *Mar.* 1342. In the Easter Tables we find that the Feast of *Pentecost* was on 19 *May*, 1342. The *Vigil*, therefore, was on the day before, the eighteenth. The second date is therefore written in the modern way as *Whalley, Saturday, 18 May, 1342*.

It is hoped that the publication of these tables and lists in three separate volumes may be a convenience to those who require to use them concurrently. The student can have them all open on his desk at once, and turn from one to another without losing his place.

¹ Note that no month requires more than the first three letters of its name to distinguish it from the rest.

INTRODUCTION TO THIS VOLUME

THE contents of this volume sufficiently explain its purpose, which is, to enable the student to ascertain without calculation the beginning of any regnal year of any English *post-Conquestum* monarch, the date of the Easter or Easters which fell within any such year, the diplomatic title of any sovereign since 1066, and the holder at any time of any of the eight titles of nobility which were (some still are) closely connected with the crown of England. The lists of sovereigns of Scotland and of France, and of the ducal years of Lancaster, etc., are given to save trouble and search elsewhere. For the period before the Conquest it has been thought sufficient to give the Easter Dates, the Indictions, and the following brief notes on the dating of Old English diplomas.

I.—THE DATING OF OLD ENGLISH DIPLOMAS

Owing to the fact that before the eleventh century the Kings of England and of the smaller English kingdoms had no chancery officials, and consequently no definite formulæ for their grants (except a few Beneventan phrases¹), no two diplomas are exactly

¹ Introduced, no doubt, by Abbot Hadrian, who came to England to assist Archbishop Theodore from Neridanum near Naples or Benevento in 669.

alike. We can, however, trace no fewer than eight elements in the composition of the date of place and time.

1. THE YEAR OF GRACE.—Until the reign of Henry II. the year of the Incarnation of our Lord was reckoned in England and Ireland from 25 Dec. to the 24 Dec. following. This system, known as the *Recapitulatio Dionysii*, because devised by Dionysius, a Roman abbot, consisted of a cycle of nineteen years (beginning in 532¹) by which the date of Easter should be determined. The years were reckoned to begin on 25 Dec. It was used in England, and in England only, from the time of S. Wilfrid, having been brought from Italy by him or Benedict Biscop, whose pupil, Bede, established its use by his writings and teaching; and at the Council of Chelsea (27 Jul. 816) it was ordered to be used in dating episcopal acts.² According to this reckoning, William the Conqueror was crowned on the first day of 1067. The year of Grace and the Indiction were the normal dates of time in these diplomas.

2. THE INDICTION.—The most stable element in European dating was the system known as the Indiction, marking the place of any given year in a cycle of fifteen years. The first year in the cycle is known as the first Indiction, the last as the fifteenth Indiction. The cycle repeats itself every fifteen years; thus, for instance, in the eighth century all the following years

¹ Though Easter Day, 533 (the first in the new Recapitulation), fell on 27 Mar., this does not account for the ancient Church Kalendar entry, 27 *March, Resurrectio Prima*. See Vol. III.

² This order is still observed. See § 4, The Episcopal Year.

were of the first Indiction, 703, 718, 733, 748, 763, 778, 793. The origin of the cycle is not quite clear. There was in Egypt a system of enrolment-by-household which began in the reign of Augustus (whose years were reckoned, in Egypt only, from 29 August, the anniversary of the taking of Alexandria). Besides a census of persons and property the returns showed when each male became of age to pay the poll-tax: and it was this age (14 years) which settled the period of the cycle at 14 years—*i.e.*, the second time your name appeared in the enrolment you had to pay the tax. Augustus began his reign officially and as a Principate 27 Jun. B.C. 23, and the enrolments-by-household were taken for B.C. 9, A.D. 6, 20, 34, 48, 62, 76, 90, 104, etc.,¹ the year beginning 29 August. But the cycle with which we are concerned is one of 15, not 14, years. It can be shown that our fifteen-year Indictional cycle began in Egypt in A.D. 297,² and is reckoned from 1 Sep. For many centuries it was supposed that the Indiction began in 312. But whatever obscurity surrounds the time and purpose of its origin, the important point to remember is that the year A.D. 313 (*i.e.*, 1 Sep. 312 to 31 Aug. 313) was the first Indiction; 314, the second; 315, the third, etc. When the year of Grace was employed for chronological purposes, from the latter part of the seventh

¹ See Sir W. M. Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* third edition, 1905, pp. 130–148.

² See Papyrus Cairo 10520 (edited in P. Lille, i., p. 108), which is dated in A.D. 315, and mentions ιθ (ἔτους) ἰνδικτίονος. Cf. Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 223, where the evidence is discussed. I owe these references to the kindness of Dr. B. P. Grenfell, Professor of Papyrology at Oxford.

century, it became necessary to reconcile the two systems, and it is probable that Bede threw back his *Annus Domini* to the preceding September.¹ But very soon it became the rule to treat the Indiction as belonging to the year of which it included eight months. The Bedan Indiction (which was also adopted by the Empire, *Indictio Bedana* or *Cæsarea*), began on 24 Sep. Thus a diploma of any given year would have a different Indiction according as it was executed before or after September. This proved very inconvenient, and so before long the beginning of the Indiction was transferred to Christmas, so as to coincide with that of the *Annus Domini*. The following rule will find the Indiction of any given year. Add three to the year of Grace, and divide by fifteen. The remainder gives the Indiction; if there be no remainder, the Indiction is 15.²

3. THE REGNAL YEAR.—The Regnal Year was not extensively used in Old English diplomas. It was probably employed in imitation of the Merovingian Kings of the Franks, who (themselves copying the Roman Emperors of the first century) reckoned their regnal years from the date of their accession to any part of the kingdom. It was used by Æthilbert of

¹ See Dr. R. L. Poole, *Medieval Reckonings of Time*, in this series; and his paper on the "Chronology of Bede," *Journal of Theological Studies*, October, 1918.

² *E.g.* (a) To find the Indiction for 1920. $1920 + 3 = 1923$. $\frac{1923}{15} = 128\frac{3}{15}$. The Indiction for 1920 is 3.

(b) To verify the date *Actum est anno dominice incāti DCCCXXII. indicti .xv.* (Earle, *Land Charters*, p. 101.) $822 + 3 = 825$. $\frac{825}{15} = 55$. The Indiction for 822 was 15, and the date is correctly given.

Kent, 732; Æthilbald of Mercia, 734, 742, 749; Offa of Mercia, 794; Coenuulf of Mercia, 811, 812, 814; Uuiglaf of Mercia, 836; Athelstan (925-940); Eadwig (955-959).¹ It seems to have found more favour in Mercia than elsewhere. Its secular character, and the number and comparative instability of the Kings, were perhaps the reasons why it did not obtain a firmer hold. When, centuries later, there was but one King, who came to the throne by hereditary succession, and dated his reign not from his accession but from the solemnity of his coronation by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the regnal year established itself so strongly that it remains in royal diplomas to this day on an equal footing with the year of Grace.

4. THE EPISCOPAL YEAR.—The bishop's years are reckoned from the day of his consecration, or (in the then uncommon event of his going to another See) of his translation. It is an unusual feature of Old English diplomas, but is found in 811 and 812, in charters of Coenuulf of Mercia, combined with the year of the Incarnation, the Indiction, and the King (e.g., *praesulatus haudem Wulfredi arcepis anno .vi.*). In one of his own charters, in 813, Wulfred uses it together with the year of Grace and the Indiction, but omitting the regnal date.² English bishops still use their episcopal year of consecration, or translation, in con-

¹ See Earle, *Land Charters*, pp. 25; 28, 36, 44; 63; 86, 89, 96; 111; 167; 192. See also Napier and Stevenson, *Early Charters*, pp. 6, 10. The gap between 836 and 925 is partially closed by charters of Æthelred, Ealdorman of Mercia, 896, and Werfrith, Bishop of Worcester, 904; Earle, *op. cit.*, pp. 154, 161.

² See Earle, *op. cit.*, pp. 86, 89, 92.

junction with the year of Grace, and without the regnal year (*e.g.*, “ Given under our hand and Episcopal seal this Third day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eighteen and of Our Translation the fifteenth.”).

5 AND 6. THE DAY OF THE MONTH AND OF THE WEEK.

—The day of the month is usually reckoned according to the Roman Kalendar of Kalends, Nones, and Ides. Examples, however, are found of the style now in use (which was invented by Gregory the Great, but strangely discarded), of counting the days from the first of the month (*e.g.*, *tertia decima die mensis iunii quod ÷ id iunii*, 704).¹ The day of the month is not found frequently, but is commoner than the day of the week, which is but rarely inserted. The day of the week is reckoned in the ecclesiastical manner (*e.g.*, *die .iiii. feria—i.e.*, Wednesday).²

7. THE DATE OF PLACE.—The date of place is not a common feature. If transcripts are reliable it may be traced back to the middle of the ninth century, but it is not found in originals until the reign of Athelstan (*e.g.*, *in uilla omnib: notissima. que leowtun. nuncupatur*).³

8. THE WITNESSES.—The list of witnesses, headed by the name of the King, is the one element invariably present in the authentication of Old English diplomas. Dates of time and place may be omitted, but the witnessing, even if it did not imply presence at an

¹ Earle, *op. cit.*, p. 17; see also pp. 8, 71.

² Earle, *op. cit.*, p. 115. See Vol. III. of this series.

³ Earle, *op. cit.*, pp. 128, 167.

actual ceremony of transference of some such piece of the property as a sod or a turf, was of such value in giving publicity and therefore stability to the grant that it was never in any circumstances left out. The name of each witness is preceded by a cross. What part the signatories took other than that of authenticating the deed is not very clear. But it seems probable that during the ninth century and the first quarter of the tenth, they were consulted (as composing the Witan) and authorized the gift, but that before about 800 and after about 925 they signed merely as witnesses.¹ The phrases employed vary considerably, but a normal form is: *his testibus consentientibus atque confirmantibus quorum nomina infra nota sunt*. A normal signature is + *Ego Uulfred archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi*. The crosses were made and the signatures written by the scribe who drew up the diploma. No Old English diploma bears a seal.² Frankish diplomas have seals, and often no witnesses.

II.—(a) 1066-1189

The Old English diploma lasted on after the Conquest until the middle of the twelfth century. The date of time, however, disappears after 1066; the date of place (e.g., *apud Merleþgam*) is not always inserted; and the seal appears as a conspicuous feature, attached *en placard*, pendant, or on a strip cut horizontally along

¹ See Maitland, *Domesday and Beyond*, pp. 247-250.

² Edward the Confessor had a seal, but never used it for diplomas.

the bottom of the diploma almost up to the left-hand border. The names of the witnesses are preceded by \bar{t} ., \bar{T} ., Test., or Test̄, and sometimes in Henry I.'s reign by the signum crucis, +.

(b) 1189 ONWARDS

The extraordinary improvements in diplomatic style and precision which marked the reign of Richard I. were probably due to Hubert Walter, Bishop of Salisbury 1189, Archbishop of Canterbury 1193-1205, Justiciar of England 1194-1198, and Chancellor 1199-1205. In this reign appear, clearly distinguished for the first time, Letters Patent and Letters Close, signed *Teste me ipso* (by the King), and Royal Charters, signed *Hiis testibus*. The date of time reappears alongside the date of place¹ (e.g., *Data p̄ manum E. Elyen̄ Ep̄i Canceℓl̄ n̄ri Ap̄d Bellum Castrum de Rupe Andet̄ .xv. die Junii. Anno regni nost̄i nono*²). The date of time consists of the month and the day of the month (reckoned from the first day, as in isolated Old English diplomas): the regnal year³ (reckoned until 1272 from the King's coronation⁴) is, however, often added, as

¹ After the reign of Henry III., the royal chancery, which had hitherto accompanied the King in his itinerary, remained stationary at Westminster. The date of place is thereafter *apud Westmonasterium*.

² Round, *Ancient Charters*, p. 109.

³ See the following tables for details connected with some of the Kings.

⁴ It was ordered in the pontificals and coronation services that the coronation should take place on a Sunday or some solemn feast. *Et praevideatur semper quod coronatio tam regis*

is also sometimes the year of Grace, which, according to the *mos Anglicanus*, began on Lady Day, 25 March,¹ instead of 25 December.

quam regine fiat in die dominico vel in festo aliquo solemni.—See *Officia in Coronationem R. Ricardi II.*, A.D. MCCCLXXVII. in Maskell's *Mon. Rit. Eccl. Angl.*, 1847, Vol. III., p. 64.

¹ This continued to be the legal beginning of the year until 1 Jan., 1752.

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I. REGNAL YEARS OF ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS, 1066-1920

SUMMARY

SOVEREIGN	BEGINNING OF REGNAL YEAR	END OF REIGN
William I ..	Coronation, Christmas Day (Mon.), 25 Dec. 1066/7	Death, 9 Sep. 1087
William II ..	Coronation, Sunday, 26 Sep. 1087	Death, 2 Aug. 1100
Henry I ..	Coronation, Sunday, 5 Aug. 1100	Death, 1 Dec. 1135
Stephen ..	Coronation, Sunday, 22 Dec. 1135	Death, 25 Oct. 1154
Henry II ..	Coronation, Sunday, 19 Dec. 1154	Death, 6 Jul. 1189
Richard I ..	Coronation, Sunday, 3 Sep. 1189	Death, 6 Apr. 1199
John ..	Coronation, Ascension Day, 27 May 1199	Death, 19 Oct. 1216
Henry III ..	Coronation, S. Simon and S. Jude (Fri.), 28 Oct. 1216	Death, 16 Nov. 1272
Edward I ..	Proclamation, Sunday, 20 Nov. 1272. (Coronation, Sunday, 19 Aug. 1274)	Death, 7 Jul. 1307
Edward II ..	Recognition, Saturday, 8 Jul. 1307. (Coronation, Sunday, 25 Feb. 1307/8)	Deposition, 20 Jan. 1326/7
Edward III ..	Recognition, Sunday, 25 Jan. 1326/7. (Coronation, Sunday, 1 Feb. 1326/7)	Death, 21 Jun. 1377
Richard II ..	Recognition, 22 Jun. 1377	Resignation, 29 Sep. 1399
Henry IV ..	Recognition, 30 Sep. 1399	Death, 20 Mar. 1412/13
Henry V ..	Proclamation, 21 Mar. 1412/13	Death, 31 Aug. 1422
Henry VI ..	Accession, 1 Sep. 1422	Deposition, 4 Mar. 1460/1
Edward IV ..	Recognition, 4 Mar. 1460/1	Deposition, 9 Oct. 1470
Henry VI (restored)	Recognition, 9 Oct. 1470	Deposition, 14 Apr. 1471
Edward IV (restored)	Recognition, 14 Apr. 1471	Death, 9 Apr. 1483
Edward V ..	Accession, 9 Apr. 1483	Murder, 22 Jun. 1483

SUMMARY—*Continued*

SOVEREIGN	BEGINNING OF REGNAL YEAR	END OF REIGN
Richard III ..	Recognition, 26 Jun. 1483	Death in battle, 22 Aug. 1485
Henry VII ..	Parliamentary Assumption, 21 Aug. 1485	Death, 21 Apr. 1509
Henry VIII ..	Accession, 22 Apr. 1509	Death, 28 Jan. 1546/7
Edward VI ..	Accession, 28 Jan. 1546/7 ¹	Death, 6 Jul. 1553
Jane ..	Recognition, 6 Jul. 1553	Deposition, 19 Jul. 1553
Mary ..	Recognition, 1st year, 19 Jul. 1553; 2nd, 6 Jul. 1554	Marriage, 25 Jul. 1554
Philip and Mary ..	Accession, 25 Jul. 1554	Mary's death, 17 Nov. 1558
Elizabeth ..	Accession, 17 Nov. 1558	Death, 24 Mar. 1602/3
James I ..	Scotland, 24 Jul. 1567; England, 24 Mar. 1602/3	Death, 27 Mar. 1625
Charles I ..	Accession, 27 Mar. 1625	Execution, 30 Jan. 1648/9
Charles II ..	Accession, 30 Jan. 1648/9	Death, 6 Feb. 1684/5
James II ..	Accession, 6 Feb. 1684/5	Abdication, 11 Dec. 1688
William and Mary ..	Recognition, 13 Feb. 1688/9	Mary's death, 28 Dec. 1694
William III ..	13 Feb.	Death, 8 Mar. 1701/2
Anne ..	Accession, 8 Mar. 1701/2	Death, 1 Aug. 1714
George I ..	Accession, 1 Aug. 1714	Death, 11 Jun. 1727
George II ..	Accession, 11 Jun. 1727 (22 Jun. in and after 1753)	Death, 25 Oct. 1760
George III ..	Accession, 25 Oct. 1760	Death, 29 Jan. 1820
George IV ..	Accession, 29 Jan. 1820	Death, 26 Jun. 1830
William IV ..	Accession, 26 Jun. 1830	Death, 20 Jun. 1837
Victoria ..	Accession, 20 Jun. 1837	Death, 22 Jan. 1901
Edward VII ..	Accession, 22 Jan. 1901	Death, 6 May 1910
George V ..	Accession, 6 May 1910	

¹ Regnal Years henceforward begin on day of predecessor's death.

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>
WILLIAM I		WILLIAM II	
1 Will. I ..	25 Dec. 1066 8 <i>Apr.</i> 1067	1 Will. II ..	26 Sep. 1087 16 <i>Apr.</i> 1088*
2 Will. I ..	25 Dec. 1067 23 <i>Mar.</i> 1067/8*	2 Will. II ..	26 Sep. 1088 1 <i>Apr.</i> 1089
3 Will. I ..	25 Dec. 1068 12 <i>Apr.</i> 1069	3 Will. II ..	26 Sep. 1089 21 <i>Apr.</i> 1090
4 Will. I ..	25 Dec. 1069 4 <i>Apr.</i> 1070	4 Will. II ..	26 Sep. 1090 13 <i>Apr.</i> 1091
5 Will. I ..	25 Dec. 1070 24 <i>Apr.</i> 1071	5 Will. II ..	26 Sep. 1091 28 <i>Mar.</i> 1092*
6 Will. I ..	25 Dec. 1071 8 <i>Apr.</i> 1072*	6 Will. II ..	26 Sep. 1092 17 <i>Apr.</i> 1093
7 Will. I ..	25 Dec. 1072 31 <i>Mar.</i> 1073	7 Will. II ..	26 Sep. 1093 9 <i>Apr.</i> 1094
8 Will. I ..	25 Dec. 1073 20 <i>Apr.</i> 1074	8 Will. II ..	26 Sep. 1094 25 <i>Mar.</i> 1095
9 Will. I ..	25 Dec. 1074 5 <i>Apr.</i> 1075	9 Will. II ..	26 Sep. 1095 13 <i>Apr.</i> 1096*
10 Will. I ..	25 Dec. 1075 27 <i>Mar.</i> 1076*	10 Will. II ..	26 Sep. 1096 5 <i>Apr.</i> 1097
11 Will. I ..	25 Dec. 1076 16 <i>Apr.</i> 1077	11 Will. II ..	26 Sep. 1097 28 <i>Mar.</i> 1098
12 Will. I ..	25 Dec. 1077 8 <i>Apr.</i> 1078	12 Will. II ..	26 Sep. 1098 10 <i>Apr.</i> 1099
13 Will. I ..	25 Dec. 1078 24 <i>Mar.</i> 1078/9	13 Will. II ..	26 Sep. 1099 1 <i>Apr.</i> 1100*
14 Will. I ..	25 Dec. 1079 12 <i>Apr.</i> 1080*		†2 Aug. 1100
15 Will. I ..	25 Dec. 1080 4 <i>Apr.</i> 1081	HENRY I	
16 Will. I ..	25 Dec. 1081 24 <i>Apr.</i> 1082	1 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1100 21 <i>Apr.</i> 1101
17 Will. I ..	25 Dec. 1082 9 <i>Apr.</i> 1083	2 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1101 6 <i>Apr.</i> 1102
18 Will. I ..	25 Dec. 1083 31 <i>Mar.</i> 1084*	3 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1102 29 <i>Mar.</i> 1103
19 Will. I ..	25 Dec. 1084 20 <i>Apr.</i> 1085	4 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1103 17 <i>Apr.</i> 1104*
20 Will. I ..	25 Dec. 1085 5 <i>Apr.</i> 1086	5 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1104 9 <i>Apr.</i> 1105
21 Will. I ..	25 Dec. 1086 28 <i>Mar.</i> 1087 †9 Sep. 1087	6 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1105 25 <i>Mar.</i> 1106

* = LEAP YEAR.

† = DATE OF DEATH.

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>
Henry I—continued		Henry I—continued	
7 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1106 14 Apr. 1107	28 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1127 22 Apr. 1128*
8 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1107 5 Apr. 1108*	29 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1128 14 Apr. 1129
9 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1108 25 Apr. 1109	30 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1129 30 Mar. 1130
10 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1109 10 Apr. 1110	31 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1130 19 Apr. 1131
11 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1110 2 Apr. 1111	32 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1131 10 Apr. 1132*
12 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1111 21 Apr. 1112*	33 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1132 26 Mar. 1133
13 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1112 6 Apr. 1113	34 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1133 15 Apr. 1134
14 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1113 29 Mar. 1114	35 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1134 7 Apr. 1135
15 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1114 18 Apr. 1115	36 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1135 †1 Dec. 1135
16 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1115 2 Apr. 1116*	STEPHEN	
17 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1116 25 Mar. 1117	1 Steph. ..	22 Dec. 1135 ¹ 22 Mar. 1135/6*
18 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1117 14 Apr. 1118	2 Steph. ..	22 Dec. 1136 11 Apr. 1137
19 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1118 30 Mar. 1119	3 Steph. ..	22 Dec. 1137 3 Apr. 1138
20 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1119 18 Apr. 1120*	4 Steph. ..	22 Dec. 1138 23 Apr. 1139
21 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1120 10 Apr. 1121	5 Steph. ..	22 Dec. 1139 7 Apr. 1140*
22 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1121 26 Mar. 1122	6 Steph. ..	22 Dec. 1140 30 Mar. 1141
23 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1122 15 Apr. 1123	7 Steph. ..	22 Dec. 1141 19 Apr. 1142
24 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1123 6 Apr. 1124*	8 Steph. ..	22 Dec. 1142 4 Apr. 1143
25 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1124 29 Mar. 1125	9 Steph. ..	22 Dec. 1143 26 Mar. 1144*
26 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1125 11 Apr. 1126	10 Steph. ..	22 Dec. 1144 15 Apr. 1145
27 Hen. I ..	5 Aug. 1126 3 Apr. 1127		

¹ Correctly given by Florence of Worcester and William of Malmesbury.

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>
Stephen—continued		Henry II—continued	
11 Steph. ..	22 Dec. 1145	12 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1165
	31 <i>Mar.</i> 1146		24 <i>Apr.</i> 1166
12 Steph. ..	22 Dec. 1146	13 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1166
	20 <i>Apr.</i> 1147		9 <i>Apr.</i> 1167
13 Steph. ..	22 Dec. 1147	14 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1167
	11 <i>Apr.</i> 1148*		31 <i>Mar.</i> 1168*
14 Steph. ..	22 Dec. 1148	15 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1168
	3 <i>Apr.</i> 1149		20 <i>Apr.</i> 1169
15 Steph. ..	22 Dec. 1149	16 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1169
	16 <i>Apr.</i> 1150		5 <i>Apr.</i> 1170
16 Steph. ..	22 Dec. 1150	17 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1170
	8 <i>Apr.</i> 1151		28 <i>Mar.</i> 1171
17 Steph. ..	22 Dec. 1151	18 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1171
	30 <i>Mar.</i> 1152*		16 <i>Apr.</i> 1172*
18 Steph. ..	22 Dec. 1152	19 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1172
	19 <i>Apr.</i> 1153		8 <i>Apr.</i> 1173
19 Steph. ..	22 Dec. 1153	20 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1173
	4 <i>Apr.</i> 1154		24 <i>Mar.</i> 1173/4
	†25 Oct. 1154	21 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1174
			13 <i>Apr.</i> 1175
		22 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1175
			4 <i>Apr.</i> 1176*
		23 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1176
			24 <i>Apr.</i> 1177
		24 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1177
			9 <i>Apr.</i> 1178
		25 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1178
			1 <i>Apr.</i> 1179
		26 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1179
			20 <i>Apr.</i> 1180*
		27 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1180
			5 <i>Apr.</i> 1181
		28 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1181
			28 <i>Mar.</i> 1182
		29 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1182
			17 <i>Apr.</i> 1183
		30 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1183
			1 <i>Apr.</i> 1184*
		31 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1184
			21 <i>Apr.</i> 1185
		32 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1185
			13 <i>Apr.</i> 1186
		33 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1186
			29 <i>Mar.</i> 1187
HENRY II			
1 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1154		
	27 <i>Mar.</i> 1155		
2 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1155		
	15 <i>Apr.</i> 1156*		
3 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1156		
	31 <i>Mar.</i> 1157		
4 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1157		
	20 <i>Apr.</i> 1158		
5 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1158		
	12 <i>Apr.</i> 1159		
6 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1159		
	27 <i>Mar.</i> 1160*		
7 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1160		
	16 <i>Apr.</i> 1161		
8 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1161		
	8 <i>Apr.</i> 1162		
9 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1162		
	24 <i>Mar.</i> 1162/3		
10 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1163		
	12 <i>Apr.</i> 1164*		
11 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1164		
	4 <i>Apr.</i> 1165		

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>
Henry II—continued		John—continued	
34 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1187	3 Joh. ..	3 May 1201
	17 Apr. 1188*		14 Apr. 1202
35 Hen. II ..	19 Dec. 1188		22 May 1202
	9 Apr. 1189	4 Joh. ..	23 May 1202
	†6 Jul. 1189		6 Apr. 1203
RICHARD I¹			14 May 1203
1 Ric. I ..	3 Sep. 1189	5 Joh. ..	15 May 1203
	25 Mar. 1190		25 Apr. 1204*
2 Ric. I ..	3 Sep. 1190		2 Jun. 1204
	14 Apr. 1191	6 Joh. ..	3 Jun. 1204
3 Ric. I ..	3 Sep. 1191		10 Apr. 1205
	5 Apr. 1192*		18 May 1205
4 Ric. I ..	3 Sep. 1192	7 Joh. ..	19 May 1205
	28 Mar. 1193		2 Apr. 1206
5 Ric. I ..	3 Sep. 1193		10 May 1206
	10 Apr. 1194	8 Joh. ..	11 May 1206
6 Ric. I ..	3 Sep. 1194		22 Apr. 1207
	2 Apr. 1195		30 May 1207
7 Ric. I ..	3 Sep. 1195	9 Joh. ..	31 May 1207
	21 Apr. 1196*		6 Apr. 1208*
8 Ric. I ..	3 Sep. 1196		14 May 1208
	6 Apr. 1197	10 Joh. ..	15 May 1208
9 Ric. I ..	3 Sep. 1197		29 Mar. 1209
	29 Mar. 1198		6 May 1209
10 Ric. I ..	3 Sep. 1198	11 Joh. ..	7 May 1209
	†6 Apr. 1199		18 Apr. 1210
	18 Apr. 1199		26 May 1210
JOHN²		12 Joh. ..	27 May 1210
1 Joh. ..	27 May 1199		3 Apr. 1211
	9 Apr. 1200*		11 May 1211
	17 May 1200	13 Joh. ..	12 May 1211
2 Joh. ..	18 May 1200		25 Mar. 1212*
	25 Mar. 1201		2 May 1212
	2 May 1201	14 Joh. ..	3 May 1212
			14 Apr. 1213
			22 May 1213
		15 Joh. ..	23 May 1213
			30 Mar. 1214
			7 May 1214

¹ Richard I was crowned twice: (1) Sunday, 3 Sep. 1189; (2) on his return from captivity in Austria, Sunday, 17 Apr. 1194. His Regnal Years, however, are reckoned from his first Coronation only.

² John's Regnal Years are of irregular length, as they begin on Ascension Day and end on the Eve of the Ascension Day next following. Both days are given, with the Easter Day in between.

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>
John—continued		Henry III—continued	
16 Joh...	8 May 1214	17 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1232
	19 <i>Apr.</i> 1215		3 <i>Apr.</i> 1233
	27 May 1215	18 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1233
17 Joh...	28 May 1215		23 <i>Apr.</i> 1234
	10 <i>Apr.</i> 1216*	19 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1234
	18 May 1216		8 <i>Apr.</i> 1235
18 Joh...	19 May 1216	20 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1235
	†19 Oct. 1216		30 <i>Mar.</i> 1236*
HENRY III		21 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1236
1 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1216		19 <i>Apr.</i> 1237
	26 <i>Mar.</i> 1217	22 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1237
2 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1217		4 <i>Apr.</i> 1238
	15 <i>Apr.</i> 1218	23 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1238
3 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1218		27 <i>Mar.</i> 1239
	7 <i>Apr.</i> 1219	24 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1239
4 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1219		15 <i>Apr.</i> 1240*
	29 <i>Mar.</i> 1220*	25 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1240
5 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1220		31 <i>Mar.</i> 1241
	11 <i>Apr.</i> 1221	26 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1241
6 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1221		20 <i>Apr.</i> 1242
	3 <i>Apr.</i> 1222	27 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1242
7 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1222		12 <i>Apr.</i> 1243
	23 <i>Apr.</i> 1223	28 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1243
8 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1223		3 <i>Apr.</i> 1244*
	14 <i>Apr.</i> 1224*	29 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1244
9 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1224		16 <i>Apr.</i> 1245
	30 <i>Mar.</i> 1225	30 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1245
10 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1225		8 <i>Apr.</i> 1246
	19 <i>Apr.</i> 1226	31 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1246
11 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1226		31 <i>Mar.</i> 1247
	11 <i>Apr.</i> 1227	32 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1247
12 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1227		19 <i>Apr.</i> 1248*
	26 <i>Mar.</i> 1228*	33 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1248
13 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1228		4 <i>Apr.</i> 1249
	15 <i>Apr.</i> 1229	34 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1249
14 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1229		27 <i>Mar.</i> 1250
	7 <i>Apr.</i> 1230	35 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1250
15 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1230		16 <i>Apr.</i> 1251
	23 <i>Mar.</i> 1230/1	36 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1251
16 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1231		31 <i>Mar.</i> 1252*
	11 <i>Apr.</i> 1232*	37 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1252
			20 <i>Apr.</i> 1253
		38 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1253
			12 <i>Apr.</i> 1254

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>
Henry III—continued		EDWARD I¹	
39 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1254	1 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1272
	28 Mar. 1255		9 Apr. 1273
40 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1255		20 Nov. 1273
	16 Apr. 1256*	2 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1273
41 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1256		1 Apr. 1274
	8 Apr. 1257		20 Nov. 1274
42 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1257	3 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1274
	24 Mar. 1257/8		14 Apr. 1275
43 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1258		20 Nov. 1275
	13 Apr. 1259	4 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1275
44 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1259		5 Apr. 1276*
	4 Apr. 1260*		20 Nov. 1276
45 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1260	5 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1276
	24 Apr. 1261		28 Mar. 1277
46 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1261		20 Nov. 1277
	9 Apr. 1262	6 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1277
47 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1262		17 Apr. 1278
	1 Apr. 1263		20 Nov. 1278
48 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1263	7 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1278
	20 Apr. 1264*		2 Apr. 1279
49 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1264		20 Nov. 1279
	5 Apr. 1265	8 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1279
50 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1265		21 Apr. 1280*
	28 Mar. 1266		20 Nov. 1280
51 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1266	9 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1280
	17 Apr. 1267		13 Apr. 1281
52 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1267		20 Nov. 1281
	8 Apr. 1268*	10 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1281
53 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1268		29 Mar. 1282
	24 Mar. 1268/9		20 Nov. 1282
54 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1269	11 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1282
	13 Apr. 1270		18 Apr. 1283
55 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1270		20 Nov. 1283
	5 Apr. 1271	12 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1283
56 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1271		9 Apr. 1284*
	24 Apr. 1272*		20 Nov. 1284
57 Hen. III ..	28 Oct. 1272	13 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1284
	†16 Nov. 1272		25 Mar. 1285
			20 Nov. 1285

¹ The Regnal Years of Edward I changed at noon 20 Nov. each year. This was the day and hour of his father's funeral and his own proclamation.

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>
Edward I—continued		Edward I—continued	
14 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1285 14 <i>Apr.</i> 1286 20 Nov. 1286	29 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1300 2 <i>Apr.</i> 1301 20 Nov. 1301
15 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1286 6 <i>Apr.</i> 1287 20 Nov. 1287	30 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1301 22 <i>Apr.</i> 1302 20 Nov. 1302
16 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1287 28 <i>Mar.</i> 1288* 20 Nov. 1288	31 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1302 7 <i>Apr.</i> 1303 20 Nov. 1303
17 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1288 10 <i>Apr.</i> 1289 20 Nov. 1289	32 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1303 29 <i>Mar.</i> 1304* 20 Nov. 1304
18 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1289 2 <i>Apr.</i> 1290 20 Nov. 1290	33 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1304 18 <i>Apr.</i> 1305 20 Nov. 1305
19 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1290 22 <i>Apr.</i> 1291 20 Nov. 1291	34 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1305 3 <i>Apr.</i> 1306 20 Nov. 1306
20 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1291 6 <i>Apr.</i> 1292* 20 Nov. 1292	34 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1306 26 <i>Mar.</i> 1307 †7 Jul. 1307
21 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1292 29 <i>Mar.</i> 1293 20 Nov. 1293	EDWARD II	
22 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1293 18 <i>Apr.</i> 1294 20 Nov. 1294	1 Edw. II ..	8 Jul. 1307 14 <i>Apr.</i> 1308*
23 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1294 3 <i>Apr.</i> 1295 20 Nov. 1295	2 Edw. II ..	8 Jul. 1308 30 <i>Mar.</i> 1309
24 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1295 25 <i>Mar.</i> 1296* 20 Nov. 1296	3 Edw. II ..	8 Jul. 1309 19 <i>Apr.</i> 1310
25 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1296 14 <i>Apr.</i> 1297 20 Nov. 1297	4 Edw. II ..	8 Jul. 1310 11 <i>Apr.</i> 1311
26 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1297 6 <i>Apr.</i> 1298 20 Nov. 1298	5 Edw. II ..	8 Jul. 1311 26 <i>Mar.</i> 1312*
27 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1298 19 <i>Apr.</i> 1299 20 Nov. 1299	6 Edw. II ..	8 Jul. 1312 15 <i>Apr.</i> 1313
28 Edw. I ..	20 Nov. 1299 10 <i>Apr.</i> 1300* 20 Nov. 1300	7 Edw. II ..	8 Jul. 1313 7 <i>Apr.</i> 1314
		8 Edw. II ..	8 Jul. 1314 23 <i>Mar.</i> 1314/5
		9 Edw. II ..	8 Jul. 1315 11 <i>Apr.</i> 1316*
		10 Edw. II ..	8 Jul. 1316 3 <i>Apr.</i> 1317

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>
Edward II—continued		Edward III—continued	
11 Edw. II ..	8 Jul. 1317	11 Edw. III ..	25 Jan. 1336/7
	23 <i>Apr.</i> 1318		20 <i>Apr.</i> 1337
12 Edw. II ..	8 Jul. 1318	12 Edw. III ..	25 Jan. 1337/8
	8 <i>Apr.</i> 1319		12 <i>Apr.</i> 1338
13 Edw. II ..	8 Jul. 1319	13 Edw. III ..	25 Jan. 1338/9
	30 <i>Mar.</i> 1320*		28 <i>Mar.</i> 1339
14 Edw. II ..	8 Jul. 1320	14 & 1 Edw. III ¹	25 Jan. 1339/40
	19 <i>Apr.</i> 1321		16 <i>Apr.</i> 1340*
15 Edw. II ..	8 Jul. 1321	15 & 2 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1340/1
	11 <i>Apr.</i> 1322		8 <i>Apr.</i> 1341
16 Edw. II ..	8 Jul. 1322	16 & 3 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1341/2
	27 <i>Mar.</i> 1323		31 <i>Mar.</i> 1342
17 Edw. II ..	8 Jul. 1323	17 & 4 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1342/3
	15 <i>Apr.</i> 1324*		13 <i>Apr.</i> 1343
18 Edw. II ..	8 Jul. 1324	18 & 5 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1343/4
	7 <i>Apr.</i> 1325		4 <i>Apr.</i> 1344*
19 Edw. II ..	8 Jul. 1325	19 & 6 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1344/5
	23 <i>Mar.</i> 1325/6		27 <i>Mar.</i> 1345
20 Edw. II ..	8 Jul. 1326	20 & 7 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1345/6
Deposed ..	20 Jan. 1326/7		16 <i>Apr.</i> 1346
EDWARD III		21 & 8 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1346/7
1 Edw. III ..	25 Jan. 1326/7		1 <i>Apr.</i> 1347
	12 <i>Apr.</i> 1327	22 & 9 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1347/8
2 Edw. III ..	25 Jan. 1327/8		20 <i>Apr.</i> 1348*
	3 <i>Apr.</i> 1328*	23 & 10 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1348/9
3 Edw. III ..	25 Jan. 1328/9		12 <i>Apr.</i> 1349
	23 <i>Apr.</i> 1329	24 & 11 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1349/50
4 Edw. III ..	25 Jan. 1329/30		28 <i>Mar.</i> 1350
	8 <i>Apr.</i> 1330	25 & 12 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1350/1
5 Edw. III ..	25 Jan. 1330/1		17 <i>Apr.</i> 1351
	31 <i>Mar.</i> 1331	26 & 13 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1351/2
6 Edw. III ..	25 Jan. 1331/2		8 <i>Apr.</i> 1352*
	19 <i>Apr.</i> 1332*	27 & 14 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1352/3
7 Edw. III ..	25 Jan. 1332/3		24 <i>Mar.</i> 1352/3
	4 <i>Apr.</i> 1333	28 & 15 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1353/4
8 Edw. III ..	25 Jan. 1333/4		13 <i>Apr.</i> 1354
	27 <i>Mar.</i> 1334	29 & 16 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1354/5
9 Edw. III ..	25 Jan. 1334/5		5 <i>Apr.</i> 1355
	16 <i>Apr.</i> 1335	30 & 17 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1355/6
10 Edw. III ..	25 Jan. 1335/6		24 <i>Apr.</i> 1356*
	31 <i>Mar.</i> 1336*	31 & 18 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1356/7
			9 <i>Apr.</i> 1357

¹ Edward III added his French Regnal Years from 25 Jan. 1339/40 till 8 May 1360, and again from 11 Jun. 1369 till his death. On resuming them he counted in the years 1360-1369 during which his claim to the French Crown had been in abeyance.

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>
Edward III—continued		RICHARD II	
32 & 19 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1357/8 1 <i>Apr.</i> 1358	1 Ric. II ..	22 Jun. 1377 18 <i>Apr.</i> 1378
33 & 20 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1358/9 21 <i>Apr.</i> 1359	2 Ric. II ..	22 Jun. 1378 10 <i>Apr.</i> 1379
34 & 21 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1359/60 5 <i>Apr.</i> 1360* 8 May 1360	3 Ric. II ..	22 Jun. 1379 25 <i>Mar.</i> 1380*
34 Edw. III ..	9 May 1360	4 Ric. II ..	22 Jun. 1380 14 <i>Apr.</i> 1381
35 Edw. III ..	25 Jan. 1360/1 28 <i>Mar.</i> 1361	5 Ric. II ..	22 Jun. 1381 6 <i>Apr.</i> 1382
36 Edw. III ..	25 Jan. 1361/2 17 <i>Apr.</i> 1362	6 Ric. II ..	22 Jun. 1382 22 <i>Mar.</i> 1382/3
37 Edw. III ..	25 Jan. 1362/3 2 <i>Apr.</i> 1363	7 Ric. II ..	22 Jun. 1383 10 <i>Apr.</i> 1384*
38 Edw. III ..	25 Jan. 1363/4 24 <i>Mar.</i> 1363/4*	8 Ric. II ..	22 Jun. 1384 2 <i>Apr.</i> 1385
39 Edw. III ..	25 Jan. 1364/5 13 <i>Apr.</i> 1365	9 Ric. II ..	22 Jun. 1385 22 <i>Apr.</i> 1386
40 Edw. III ..	25 Jan. 1365/6 5 <i>Apr.</i> 1366	10 Ric. II ..	22 Jun. 1386 7 <i>Apr.</i> 1387
41 Edw. III ..	25 Jan. 1366/7 18 <i>Apr.</i> 1367	11 Ric. II ..	22 Jun. 1387 29 <i>Mar.</i> 1388*
42 Edw. III ..	25 Jan. 1367/8 9 <i>Apr.</i> 1368*	12 Ric. II ..	22 Jun. 1388 18 <i>Apr.</i> 1389
43 Edw. III ..	25 Jan. 1368/9 1 <i>Apr.</i> 1369	13 Ric. II ..	22 Jun. 1389 3 <i>Apr.</i> 1390
43 & 30 Edw. III	11 Jun. 1369	14 Ric. II ..	22 Jun. 1390 26 <i>Mar.</i> 1391
44 & 31 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1369/70 14 <i>Apr.</i> 1370	15 Ric. II ..	22 Jun. 1391 14 <i>Apr.</i> 1392*
45 & 32 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1370/1 6 <i>Apr.</i> 1371	16 Ric. II ..	22 Jun. 1392 6 <i>Apr.</i> 1393
46 & 33 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1371/2 28 <i>Mar.</i> 1372*	17 Ric. II ..	22 Jun. 1393 19 <i>Apr.</i> 1394
47 & 34 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1372/3 17 <i>Apr.</i> 1373	18 Ric. II ..	22 Jun. 1394 11 <i>Apr.</i> 1395
48 & 35 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1373/4 2 <i>Apr.</i> 1374	19 Ric. II ..	22 Jun. 1395 2 <i>Apr.</i> 1396*
49 & 36 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1374/5 22 <i>Apr.</i> 1375	20 Ric. II ..	22 Jun. 1396 22 <i>Apr.</i> 1397
50 & 37 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1375/6 13 <i>Apr.</i> 1376*	21 Ric. II ..	22 Jun. 1397 7 <i>Apr.</i> 1398
51 & 38 Edw. III	25 Jan. 1376/7 29 <i>Mar.</i> 1377 †21 Jun. 1377	22 Ric. II ..	22 Jun. 1398 30 <i>Mar.</i> 1399

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>
Richard II—continued		Henry V—continued	
23 Ric. II ..	22 Jun. 1399	5 Hen. V ..	21 Mar. 1416/7
Resigned..	29 Sep. 1399		11 Apr. 1417
HENRY IV		6 Hen. V ..	21 Mar. 1417/8
1 Hen. IV ..	30 Sep. 1399		27 Mar. 1418
	18 Apr. 1400*	7 Hen. V ..	21 Mar. 1418/9
2 Hen. IV ..	30 Sep. 1400		16 Apr. 1419
	3 Apr. 1401	8 Hen. V ..	21 Mar. 1419/20
3 Hen. IV ..	30 Sep. 1401		7 Apr. 1420*
	26 Mar. 1402	9 Hen. V ..	21 Mar. 1420/1
4 Hen. IV ..	30 Sep. 1402		23 Mar. 1420/1
	15 Apr. 1403	10 Hen. V ..	21 Mar. 1421/2
5 Hen. IV ..	30 Sep. 1403		12 Apr. 1422
	30 Mar. 1404*		†31 Aug. 1422
6 Hen. IV ..	30 Sep. 1404	HENRY VI	
	19 Apr. 1405	1 Hen. VI ..	1 Sep. 1422
7 Hen. IV ..	30 Sep. 1405		4 Apr. 1423
	11 Apr. 1406	2 Hen. VI ..	1 Sep. 1423
8 Hen. IV ..	30 Sep. 1406		23 Apr. 1424*
	27 Mar. 1407	3 Hen. VI ..	1 Sep. 1424
9 Hen. IV ..	30 Sep. 1407		8 Apr. 1425
	15 Apr. 1408*	4 Hen. VI ..	1 Sep. 1425
10 Hen. IV ..	30 Sep. 1408		31 Mar. 1426
	7 Apr. 1409	5 Hen. VI ..	1 Sep. 1426
11 Hen. IV ..	30 Sep. 1409		20 Apr. 1427
	23 Mar. 1409/10	6 Hen. VI ..	1 Sep. 1427
12 Hen. IV ..	30 Sep. 1410		4 Apr. 1428*
	12 Apr. 1411	7 Hen. VI ..	1 Sep. 1428
13 Hen. IV ..	30 Sep. 1411		27 Mar. 1429
	3 Apr. 1412*	8 Hen. VI ..	1 Sep. 1429
14 Hen. IV ..	30 Sep. 1412		16 Apr. 1430
	†20 Mar. 1412/3	9 Hen. VI ..	1 Sep. 1430
HENRY V			1 Apr. 1431
1 Hen. V ..	21 Mar. 1412/3	10 Hen. VI ..	1 Sep. 1431
	23 Apr. 1413		20 Apr. 1432*
2 Hen. V ..	21 Mar. 1413/4	11 Hen. VI ..	1 Sep. 1432
	8 Apr. 1414		12 Apr. 1433
3 Hen. V ..	21 Mar. 1414/5	12 Hen. VI ..	1 Sep. 1433
	31 Mar. 1415		28 Mar. 1434
4 Hen. V ..	21 Mar. 1415/6	13 Hen. VI ..	1 Sep. 1434
	19 Apr. 1416*		17 Apr. 1435
		14 Hen. VI ..	1 Sep. 1435
			8 Apr. 1436*

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>
Edward IV—continued		HENRY VII	
11 Edw. IV ¹	14 Apr. 1471	1 Hen. VII ² ..	21 Aug. 1485
12 Edw. IV ..	4 Mar. 1471/2		26 Mar. 1486
	29 Mar. 1472*	2 Hen. VII ..	21 Aug. 1486
13 Edw. IV ..	4 Mar. 1472/3		15 Apr. 1487
	18 Apr. 1473	3 Hen. VII ..	21 Aug. 1487
14 Edw. IV ..	4 Mar. 1473/4		6 Apr. 1488*
	10 Apr. 1474	4 Hen. VII ..	21 Aug. 1488
15 Edw. IV ..	4 Mar. 1474/5		19 Apr. 1489
	26 Mar. 1475	5 Hen. VII ..	21 Aug. 1489
16 Edw. IV ..	4 Mar. 1475/6		11 Apr. 1490
	14 Apr. 1476*	6 Hen. VII ..	21 Aug. 1490
17 Edw. IV ..	4 Mar. 1476/7		3 Apr. 1491
	6 Apr. 1477	7 Hen. VII ..	21 Aug. 1491
18 Edw. IV ..	4 Mar. 1477/8		22 Apr. 1492*
	22 Mar. 1477/8	8 Hen. VII ..	21 Aug. 1492
19 Edw. IV ..	4 Mar. 1478/9		7 Apr. 1493
	11 Apr. 1479	9 Hen. VII ..	21 Aug. 1493
20 Edw. IV ..	4 Mar. 1479/80		30 Mar. 1494
	2 Apr. 1480*	10 Hen. VII ..	21 Aug. 1494
21 Edw. IV ..	4 Mar. 1480/1		19 Apr. 1495
	22 Apr. 1481	11 Hen. VII ..	21 Aug. 1495
22 Edw. IV ..	4 Mar. 1481/2		3 Apr. 1496*
	7 Apr. 1482	12 Hen. VII ..	21 Aug. 1496
23 Edw. IV ..	4 Mar. 1482/3		26 Mar. 1497
	30 Mar. 1483	13 Hen. VII ..	21 Aug. 1497
	†9 Apr. 1483		15 Apr. 1498
EDWARD V		14 Hen. VII ..	21 Aug. 1498
1 Edw. V ..	9 Apr. 1483		31 Mar. 1499
	Murdered 22 Jun. 1483	15 Hen. VII ..	21 Aug. 1499
RICHARD III			19 Apr. 1500*
1 Ric. III ..	26 Jun. 1483	16 Hen. VII ..	21 Aug. 1500
	18 Apr. 1484*		11 Apr. 1501
2 Ric. III ..	26 Jun. 1484	17 Hen. VII ..	21 Aug. 1501
	3 Apr. 1485		27 Mar. 1502
3 Ric. III ..	26 Jun. 1485	18 Hen. VII ..	21 Aug. 1502
	†22 Aug. 1485		16 Apr. 1503
		19 Hen. VII ..	21 Aug. 1503
			7 Apr. 1504*

¹ Edward IV made no alteration in the reckoning of his Regnal Years on account of the restoration of Henry VI, 9 Oct. 1470–14 Apr. 1471.

² By reckoning his reign from the day before the Battle of Bosworth, Henry VII made Richard and his supporters to be guilty of treason in the eye of the law, and cleared his own followers of the same accusation.

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>
Henry VII—continued		Henry VIII—continued	
20 Hen. VII ..	21 Aug. 1504	16 Hen. VIII ..	22 Apr. 1524
	23 <i>Mar.</i> 1504/5		16 <i>Apr.</i> 1525
21 Hen. VII ..	21 Aug. 1505	17 Hen. VIII ..	22 Apr. 1525
	12 <i>Apr.</i> 1506		1 <i>Apr.</i> 1526
22 Hen. VII ..	21 Aug. 1506	18 Hen. VIII ..	22 Apr. 1526
	4 <i>Apr.</i> 1507		21 <i>Apr.</i> 1527
23 Hen. VII ..	21 Aug. 1507	19 Hen. VIII ..	22 Apr. 1527
	23 <i>Apr.</i> 1508*		12 <i>Apr.</i> 1528*
24 Hen. VII ..	21 Aug. 1508	20 Hen. VIII ..	22 Apr. 1528
	8 <i>Apr.</i> 1509		28 <i>Mar.</i> 1529
	†21 <i>Apr.</i> 1509	21 Hen. VIII ..	22 Apr. 1529
			17 <i>Apr.</i> 1530
HENRY VIII		22 Hen. VIII ..	22 Apr. 1530
1 Hen. VIII..	22 Apr. 1509		9 <i>Apr.</i> 1531
	31 <i>Mar.</i> 1510	23 Hen. VIII ..	22 Apr. 1531
2 Hen. VIII..	22 Apr. 1510		31 <i>Mar.</i> 1532*
	20 <i>Apr.</i> 1511	24 Hen. VIII ..	22 Apr. 1532
3 Hen. VIII..	22 Apr. 1511		13 <i>Apr.</i> 1533
	11 <i>Apr.</i> 1512*	25 Hen. VIII ..	22 Apr. 1533
4 Hen. VIII..	22 Apr. 1512		5 <i>Apr.</i> 1534
	27 <i>Mar.</i> 1513	26 Hen. VIII ..	22 Apr. 1534
5 Hen. VIII..	22 Apr. 1513		28 <i>Mar.</i> 1535
	16 <i>Apr.</i> 1514	27 Hen. VIII ..	22 Apr. 1535
6 Hen. VIII..	22 Apr. 1514		16 <i>Apr.</i> 1536*
	8 <i>Apr.</i> 1515	28 Hen. VIII ..	22 Apr. 1536
7 Hen. VIII..	22 Apr. 1515		1 <i>Apr.</i> 1537
	23 <i>Mar.</i> 1515/6*	29 Hen. VIII ..	22 Apr. 1537
8 Hen. VIII..	22 Apr. 1516		21 <i>Apr.</i> 1538
	12 <i>Apr.</i> 1517	30 Hen. VIII ..	22 Apr. 1538
9 Hen. VIII..	22 Apr. 1517		6 <i>Apr.</i> 1539
	4 <i>Apr.</i> 1518	31 Hen. VIII..	22 Apr. 1539
10 Hen. VIII..	22 Apr. 1518		28 <i>Mar.</i> 1540*
11 Hen. VIII..	22 Apr. 1519	32 Hen. VIII ..	22 Apr. 1540
	24 <i>Apr.</i> 1519		17 <i>Apr.</i> 1541
	8 <i>Apr.</i> 1520*	33 Hen. VIII ..	22 Apr. 1541
12 Hen. VIII..	22 Apr. 1520		9 <i>Apr.</i> 1542
	31 <i>Mar.</i> 1521	34 Hen. VIII ..	22 Apr. 1542
13 Hen. VIII..	22 Apr. 1521		25 <i>Mar.</i> 1543
	20 <i>Apr.</i> 1522	35 Hen. VIII ..	22 Apr. 1543
14 Hen. VIII..	22 Apr. 1522		13 <i>Apr.</i> 1544*
	5 <i>Apr.</i> 1523	36 Hen. VIII ..	22 Apr. 1544
15 Hen. VIII..	22 Apr. 1523		5 <i>Apr.</i> 1545
	27 <i>Mar.</i> 1524*	37 Hen. VIII ..	22 Apr. 1545

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>
Henry VIII—continued		Philip and Mary—continued	
38 Hen. VIII ..	22 Apr. 1546	2 & 3 P. & M. ..	25 Jul. 1555
	25 Apr. 1546		5 Apr. 1556*
	†28 Jan. 1546/7		5 Jul. 1556
EDWARD VI		2 & 4 P. & M. ..	6 Jul. 1556
1 Edw. VI ..	28 Jan. 1546/7		24 Jul. 1556
	10 Apr. 1547	3 & 4 P. & M. ..	25 Jul. 1556
2 Edw. VI ..	28 Jan. 1547/8		18 Apr. 1557
	1 Apr. 1548*		5 Jul. 1557
3 Edw. VI ..	28 Jan. 1548/9	3 & 5 P. & M. ..	6 Jul. 1557
	21 Apr. 1549		24 Jul. 1557
4 Edw. VI ..	28 Jan. 1549/50	4 & 5 P. & M. ..	25 Jul. 1557
	6 Apr. 1550		10 Apr. 1558
5 Edw. VI ..	28 Jan. 1550/1		5 Jul. 1558
	29 Mar. 1551	4 & 6 P. & M. ..	6 Jul. 1558
6 Edw. VI ..	28 Jan. 1551/2		24 Jul. 1558
	17 Apr. 1552*	5 & 6 P. & M. ..	25 Jul. 1558
7 Edw. VI ..	28 Jan. 1552/3	Mary died ..	17 Nov. 1558
	2 Apr. 1553	ELIZABETH	
	†6 Jul. 1553	1 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1558
JANE			26 Mar. 1559
1 Jan. ..	6 Jul. 1553	2 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1559
Deposed ..	19 Jul. 1553		14 Apr. 1560*
MARY¹		3 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1560
1 Mar. ..	19 Jul. 1553		6 Apr. 1561
	25 Mar. 1554	4 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1561
	5 Jul. 1554		29 Mar. 1562
2 Mar. ..	6 Jul. 1554	5 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1562
	24 Jul. 1554		11 Apr. 1563
PHILIP AND MARY		6 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1563
1 & 2 P. & M. ..	25 Jul. 1554		2 Apr. 1564*
	14 Apr. 1555	7 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1564
	5 Jul. 1555		22 Apr. 1565
1 & 3 P. & M. ..	6 Jul. 1555	8 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1565
	24 Jul. 1555		14 Apr. 1566
		9 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1566
			30 Mar. 1567
		10 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1567
			18 Apr. 1568*
		11 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1568
			10 Apr. 1569

¹ For the reigns of Mary and of Philip and Mary the last day of each Regnal Year or portion of a Year is also given.

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Days</i>
Elizabeth—continued		Elizabeth—continued	
12 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1569	30 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1587
	26 <i>Mar.</i> 1570		7 <i>Apr.</i> 1588*
13 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1570		[17 <i>Apr.</i> 1588*]
	15 <i>Apr.</i> 1571	31 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1588
14 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1571		30 <i>Mar.</i> 1589
	6 <i>Apr.</i> 1572*		[2 <i>Apr.</i> 1589]
15 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1572	32 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1589
	22 <i>Mar.</i> 1572/3		19 <i>Apr.</i> 1590
16 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1573		[22 <i>Apr.</i> 1590]
	11 <i>Apr.</i> 1574	33 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1590
17 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1574		4 <i>Apr.</i> 1591
	3 <i>Apr.</i> 1575		[14 <i>Apr.</i> 1591]
18 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1575	34 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1591
	22 <i>Apr.</i> 1576*		26 <i>Mar.</i> 1592*
19 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1576		[29 <i>Mar.</i> 1592*]
	7 <i>Apr.</i> 1577	35 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1592
20 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1577		15 <i>Apr.</i> 1593
	30 <i>Mar.</i> 1578		[18 <i>Apr.</i> 1593]
21 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1578	36 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1593
	19 <i>Apr.</i> 1579		31 <i>Mar.</i> 1594
22 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1579		[10 <i>Apr.</i> 1594]
	3 <i>Apr.</i> 1580*	37 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1594
23 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1580		20 <i>Apr.</i> 1595
	26 <i>Mar.</i> 1581		[26 <i>Mar.</i> 1595]
24 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1581	38 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1595
	15 <i>Apr.</i> 1582		11 <i>Apr.</i> 1596*
25 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1582		[14 <i>Apr.</i> 1596*]
	31 <i>Mar.</i> 1583	39 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1596
	[10 <i>Apr.</i> 1583] ¹		27 <i>Mar.</i> 1597
26 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1583		[6 <i>Apr.</i> 1597]
	19 <i>Apr.</i> 1584*	40 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1597
	[1 <i>Apr.</i> 1584*]		16 <i>Apr.</i> 1598
27 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1584		[22 <i>Mar.</i> 1597/8]
	11 <i>Apr.</i> 1585	41 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1598
	[21 <i>Apr.</i> 1585]		8 <i>Apr.</i> 1599
28 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1585		[11 <i>Apr.</i> 1599]
	3 <i>Apr.</i> 1586	42 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1599
	[6 <i>Apr.</i> 1586]		23 <i>Mar.</i> 1599/
29 Eliz. ..	17 Nov. 1586		1600*
	16 <i>Apr.</i> 1587		[2 <i>Apr.</i> 1600*]
	[29 <i>Mar.</i> 1587]		

¹ The date in brackets is that of Easter Day, New Style, which was not adopted in England until 1752.

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Days</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Days</i>
Elizabeth—continued		James I—continued	
43 Eliz.	17 Nov. 1600	9 & 44 Jac. I..	24 Mar. 1610/11
	12 Apr. 1601		24 Mar. 1610/11
	[22 Apr. 1601]		[3 Apr. 1611]
44 Eliz.	17 Nov. 1601	9 & 45 Jac. I..	24 Jul. 1611
	4 Apr. 1602	10 & 45 Jac. I..	24 Mar. 1611/12
	[7 Apr. 1602]		12 Apr. 1612*
45 Eliz.	17 Nov. 1602		[22 Apr. 1612*]
	†24 Mar. 1602/3	10 & 46 Jac. I..	24 Jul. 1612
		11 & 46 Jac. I..	24 Mar. 1612/13
			4 Apr. 1613
			[7 Apr. 1613]
JAMES I		11 & 47 Jac. I..	24 Jul. 1613
1 & 36 Jac. I ¹ . .	24 Mar. 1602/3	12 & 47 Jac. I..	24 Mar. 1613/14
	24 Apr. 1603		24 Apr. 1614
	[30 Mar. 1603]		[30 Mar. 1614]
1 & 37 Jac. I . .	24 Jul. 1603	12 & 48 Jac. I..	24 Jul. 1614
2 & 37 Jac. I . .	24 Mar. 1603/4	13 & 48 Jac. I..	24 Mar. 1614/15
	8 Apr. 1604*		9 Apr. 1615
	[18 Apr. 1604*]		[19 Apr. 1615]
2 & 38 Jac. I . .	24 Jul. 1604	13 & 49 Jac. I..	24 Jul. 1615
3 & 38 Jac. I . .	24 Mar. 1604/5	14 & 49 Jac. I..	24 Mar. 1615/16
	31 Mar. 1605		31 Mar. 1616*
	[10 Apr. 1605]		[3 Apr. 1616*]
3 & 39 Jac. I . .	24 Jul. 1605	14 & 50 Jac. I..	24 Jul. 1616
4 & 39 Jac. I . .	24 Mar. 1605/6	15 & 50 Jac. I..	24 Mar. 1616/17
	20 Apr. 1606		20 Apr. 1617
	[26 Mar. 1606]		[26 Mar. 1617]
4 & 40 Jac. I . .	24 Jul. 1606	15 & 51 Jac. I..	24 Jul. 1617
5 & 40 Jac. I . .	24 Mar. 1606/7	16 & 51 Jac. I..	24 Mar. 1617/18
	5 Apr. 1607		5 Apr. 1618
	[15 Apr. 1607]		[15 Apr. 1618]
5 & 41 Jac. I . .	24 Jul. 1607	16 & 52 Jac. I..	24 Jul. 1618
6 & 41 Jac. I . .	24 Mar. 1607/8	17 & 52 Jac. I..	24 Mar. 1618/19
	27 Mar. 1608*		28 Mar. 1619
	[6 Apr. 1608*]		[31 Mar. 1619]
6 & 42 Jac. I . .	24 Jul. 1608	17 & 53 Jac. I..	24 Jul. 1619
7 & 42 Jac. I . .	24 Mar. 1608/9	18 & 53 Jac. I..	24 Mar. 1619/20
	16 Apr. 1609		16 Apr. 1620*
	[19 Apr. 1609]		[19 Apr. 1620*]
7 & 43 Jac. I . .	24 Jul. 1609	18 & 54 Jac. I..	24 Jul. 1620
8 & 43 Jac. I . .	24 Mar. 1609/10	19 & 54 Jac. I..	24 Mar. 1620/21
	8 Apr. 1610		1 Apr. 1621
	[11 Apr. 1610]		[11 Apr. 1621]
8 & 44 Jac. I..	24 Jul. 1610		

¹ On his accession to the English throne, James continued to use his Scottish Regnal Years, in addition to his English date.

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Days</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Days</i>
James I—continued		Charles I—continued	
19 & 55 Jac. I ..	24 Jul. 1621	10 Car. I ..	27 Mar. 1634
20 & 55 Jac. I ..	24 Mar. 1621/22		6 Apr. 1634
	21 Apr. 1622		[16 Apr. 1634]
	[27 Mar. 1622]	11 Car. I ..	27 Mar. 1635
20 & 56 Jac. I ..	24 Jul. 1622		29 Mar. 1635
21 & 56 Jac. I ..	24 Mar. 1622/23		[8 Apr. 1635]
	13 Apr. 1623		[23 Mar. 1635/6*]
	[16 Apr. 1623]	12 Car. I ..	27 Mar. 1636
21 & 57 Jac. I ..	24 Jul. 1623		17 Apr. 1636*
22 & 57 Jac. I ..	24 Mar. 1623/24	13 Car. I ..	27 Mar. 1637
	28 Mar. 1624*		9 Apr. 1637
	[7 Apr. 1624*]		[12 Apr. 1637]
22 & 58 Jac. I ..	24 Jul. 1624		25 Mar. 1638
23 & 58 Jac. I ..	24 Mar. 1624/25	14 Car. I ..	27 Mar. 1638
	†27 Mar. 1625		[4 Apr. 1638]
CHARLES I		15 Car. I ..	27 Mar. 1639
1 Car. I	27 Mar. 1625		14 Apr. 1639
	17 Apr. 1625		[24 Apr. 1639]
	[30 Mar. 1625]	16 Car. I ..	27 Mar. 1640
2 Car. I	27 Mar. 1626		5 Apr. 1640*
	9 Apr. 1626		[8 Apr. 1640*]
	[12 Apr. 1626]	17 Car. I ..	27 Mar. 1641
	25 Mar. 1627		25 Apr. 1641
3 Car. I	27 Mar. 1627		[31 Mar. 1641]
	[4 Apr. 1627]	18 Car. I ..	27 Mar. 1642
4 Car. I	27 Mar. 1628		10 Apr. 1642
	13 Apr. 1628*		[20 Apr. 1642]
	[23 Apr. 1628*]	19 Car. I ..	27 Mar. 1643
5 Car. I	27 Mar. 1629		2 Apr. 1643
	5 Apr. 1629		[5 Apr. 1643]
	[15 Apr. 1629]	20 Car. I ..	27 Mar. 1644
6 Car. I	27 Mar. 1630		21 Apr. 1644*
	28 Mar. 1630		[27 Mar. 1644*]
	[31 Mar. 1630]	21 Car. I ..	27 Mar. 1645
7 Car. I	27 Mar. 1631		6 Apr. 1645
	10 Apr. 1631		[16 Apr. 1645]
	[20 Apr. 1631]	22 Car. I ..	27 Mar. 1646
8 Car. I	27 Mar. 1632		29 Mar. 1646
	1 Apr. 1632*		[1 Apr. 1646]
	[11 Apr. 1632*]	23 Car. I ..	27 Mar. 1647
9 Car. I	27 Mar. 1633		18 Apr. 1647
	21 Apr. 1633		[21 Apr. 1647]
	[27 Mar. 1633]		

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Days</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Days</i>
Charles I—continued		CHARLES II	
24 Car. I ..	27 Mar. 1648	12 Car. II ..	29 May 1660
	2 Apr. 1648*	13 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1660/1
	[12 Apr. 1648*]		14 Apr. 1661
	†30 Jan. 1648/9		[17 Apr. 1661]
COMMONWEALTH		14 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1661/2
[1 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1648/9] ¹		30 Mar. 1662
	25 Mar. 1649		[9 Apr. 1662]
	[4 Apr. 1649]	15 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1662/3
[2 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1649/50]		19 Apr. 1663
	14 Apr. 1650		[25 Mar. 1663]
	[17 Apr. 1650]	16 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1663/4
[3 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1650/1]		10 Apr. 1664*
	30 Mar. 1651		[13 Apr. 1664*]
	[9 Apr. 1651]	17 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1664/5
[4 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1651/2]		26 Mar. 1665
	18 Apr. 1652*		[5 Apr. 1665]
	[31 Mar. 1652*]	18 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1665/6
[5 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1652/3]		15 Apr. 1666
	10 Apr. 1653		[25 Apr. 1666]
	[13 Apr. 1653]	19 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1666/7
[6 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1653/4]		7 Apr. 1667
	26 Mar. 1654		[10 Apr. 1667]
	[5 Apr. 1654]	20 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1667/8
[7 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1654/5]		22 Mar. 1667/8*
	15 Apr. 1655		[1 Apr. 1668*]
	[28 Mar. 1655]	21 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1668/9
[8 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1655/6]		11 Apr. 1669
	6 Apr. 1656*		[21 Apr. 1669]
	[16 Apr. 1656*]	22 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1669/70
[9 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1656/7]		3 Apr. 1670
	29 Mar. 1657		[6 Apr. 1670]
	[1 Apr. 1657]	23 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1670/1
[10 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1657/8]		23 Apr. 1671
	11 Apr. 1658		[29 Mar. 1671]
	[21 Apr. 1658]	24 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1671/2
[11 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1658/9]		7 Apr. 1672*
	3 Apr. 1659		[17 Apr. 1672*]
	[13 Apr. 1659]	25 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1672/3
[12 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1659/60]		30 Mar. 1673
	22 Apr. 1660*		[2 Apr. 1673]
	[28 Mar. 1660*]	26 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1673/4
			19 Apr. 1674
			[25 Mar. 1674]

¹ Though Charles II reckoned his Regnal Years from 30 Jan. 1648/9, he did not reign in England until his Restoration, 29 May 1661.

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Days</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Days</i>
Charles II—continued		James II—continued	
27 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1674/5 4 Apr. 1675 [14 Apr. 1675]	3 Jac. II ..	6 Feb. 1686/7 27 Mar. 1687 [30 Mar. 1687]
28 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1675/6 26 Mar. 1676* [5 Apr. 1676*]	4 Jac. II ..	6 Feb. 1687/8 15 Apr. 1688* [18 Apr. 1688*]
29 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1676/7 15 Apr. 1677 [18 Apr. 1677]	Fled ..	11 Dec. 1688
30 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1677/8 31 Mar. 1678 [10 Apr. 1678]	WILLIAM AND MARY	
31 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1678/9 20 Apr. 1679 [2 Apr. 1679]	1 Wm. & Mar.	13 Feb. 1688/9 31 Mar. 1689 [10 Apr. 1689]
32 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1679/80 11 Apr. 1680* [21 Apr. 1680*]	2 Wm. & Mar.	13 Feb. 1689/90 20 Apr. 1690 [26 Mar. 1690]
33 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1680/1 3 Apr. 1681 [6 Apr. 1681]	3 Wm. & Mar.	13 Feb. 1690/1 12 Apr. 1691 [15 Apr. 1691]
34 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1681/2 16 Apr. 1682 [29 Mar. 1682]	4 Wm. & Mar.	13 Feb. 1691/2 27 Mar. 1692* [6 Apr. 1692*]
35 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1682/3 8 Apr. 1683 [18 Apr. 1683]	5 Wm. & Mar.	13 Feb. 1692/3 16 Apr. 1693 [22 Mar. 1692/3]
36 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1683/4 30 Mar. 1684* [2 Apr. 1684*]	6 Wm. & Mar.	13 Feb. 1693/4 8 Apr. 1694 [11 Apr. 1694]
37 Car. II ..	30 Jan. 1684/5 †6 Feb. 1684/5	Mary died 28 Dec. 1694 ¹	
JAMES II		WILLIAM III	
1 Jac. II ..	6 Feb. 1684/5 19 Apr. 1685 [22 Apr. 1685]	6 Wm. III ..	28 Dec. 1694 12 Feb. 1694/5
2 Jac. II ..	6 Feb. 1685/6 4 Apr. 1686 [14 Apr. 1686]	7 Wm. III ..	13 Feb. 1694/5 24 Mar. 1694/5 [3 Apr. 1695]
		8 Wm. III ..	13 Feb. 1695/6 12 Apr. 1696* [22 Apr. 1696*]

¹ On the day of Queen Mary's death, 28 Dec. 1694, William III changed the Royal Style but not the Regnal Year date.

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Days</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Days</i>
William III—continued		Anne—continued	
9 Wm. III ..	13 Feb. 1696/7 4 Apr. 1697 [7 Apr. 1697]	9 Anne ..	8 Mar. 1709/10 9 Apr. 1710 [20 Apr. 1710]
10 Wm. III ..	13 Feb. 1697/8 24 Apr. 1698 [30 Mar. 1698]	10 Anne ..	8 Mar. 1710/11 1 Apr. 1711 [5 Apr. 1711]
11 Wm. III ..	13 Feb. 1698/9 9 Apr. 1699 [19 Apr. 1699]	11 Anne ..	8 Mar. 1711/12 20 Apr. 1712* [27 Mar. 1712*]
12 Wm. III ..	13 Feb. 1699/ 1700 31 Mar. 1700* ¹ [11 Apr. 1700]	12 Anne ..	8 Mar. 1712/13 5 Apr. 1713 [16 Apr. 1713]
13 Wm. III ..	13 Feb. 1700/1 20 Apr. 1701 [27 Mar. 1701]	13 Anne ..	8 Mar. 1713/14 28 Mar. 1714 [1 Apr. 1714] †1 Aug. 1714
14 Wm. III ..	13 Feb. 1701/2 †8 Mar. 1701/2		
ANNE		GEORGE I	
1 Anne ..	8 Mar. 1701/2 5 Apr. 1702 [16 Apr. 1702]	1 Geo. I ..	1 Aug. 1714 17 Apr. 1715 [21 Apr. 1715]
2 Anne ..	8 Mar. 1702/3 28 Mar. 1703 [8 Apr. 1703]	2 Geo. I ..	1 Aug. 1715 1 Apr. 1716* [12 Apr. 1716*]
3 Anne ..	8 Mar. 1703/4 16 Apr. 1704* [23 Mar. 1703/4*]	3 Geo. I ..	1 Aug. 1716 21 Apr. 1717 [28 Mar. 1717]
4 Anne ..	8 Mar. 1704/5 8 Apr. 1705 [12 Apr. 1705]	4 Geo. I ..	1 Aug. 1717 13 Apr. 1718 [17 Apr. 1718]
5 Anne ..	8 Mar. 1705/6 24 Mar. 1705/6 [4 Apr. 1706]	5 Geo. I ..	1 Aug. 1718 29 Mar. 1719 [9 Apr. 1719]
6 Anne ..	8 Mar. 1706/7 13 Apr. 1707 [24 Apr. 1707]	6 Geo. I ..	1 Aug. 1719 17 Apr. 1720* [31 Mar. 1720*]
7 Anne ..	8 Mar. 1707/8 4 Apr. 1708* [8 Apr. 1708*]	7 Geo. I ..	1 Aug. 1720 9 Apr. 1721 [13 Apr. 1721]
8 Anne ..	8 Mar. 1708/9 24 Apr. 1709 [31 Mar. 1709]	8 Geo. I ..	1 Aug. 1721 25 Mar. 1722 [5 Apr. 1722]

¹ The year 1700 was a Leap Year in the Old Style, but not in the New.

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Days</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Days</i>
George I—continued		George II—continued	
9 Geo. I ..	1 Aug. 1722 14 Apr. 1723 [28 Mar. 1723]	9 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1735 25 Apr. 1736* [1 Apr. 1736*]
10 Geo. I ..	1 Aug. 1723 5 Apr. 1724* [16 Apr. 1724*]	10 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1736 10 Apr. 1737 [21 Apr. 1737]
11 Geo. I ..	1 Aug. 1724 28 Mar. 1725 [1 Apr. 1725]	11 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1737 2 Apr. 1738 [6 Apr. 1738]
12 Geo. I ..	1 Aug. 1725 10 Apr. 1726 [21 Apr. 1726]	12 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1738 22 Apr. 1739 [29 Mar. 1739]
13 Geo. I ..	1 Aug. 1726 2 Apr. 1727 [13 Apr. 1727] †11 Jun. 1727	13 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1739 6 Apr. 1740* [17 Apr. 1740*]
GEORGE II		14 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1740 29 Mar. 1741 [2 Apr. 1741]
1 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1727 21 Apr. 1728* [28 Mar. 1728*]	15 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1741 18 Apr. 1742 [25 Mar. 1742]
2 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1728 6 Apr. 1729 [17 Apr. 1729]	16 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1742 3 Apr. 1743 [14 Apr. 1743]
3 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1729 29 Mar. 1730 [9 Apr. 1730]	17 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1743 25 Mar. 1744* [5 Apr. 1744*]
4 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1730 18 Apr. 1731 [25 Mar. 1731]	18 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1744 14 Apr. 1745 [18 Apr. 1745]
5 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1731 9 Apr. 1732* [13 Apr. 1732*]	19 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1745 30 Mar. 1746 [10 Apr. 1746]
6 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1732 25 Mar. 1733 [5 Apr. 1733]	20 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1746 19 Apr. 1747 [2 Apr. 1747]
7 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1733 14 Apr. 1734 [25 Apr. 1734]	21 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1747 10 Apr. 1748* [14 Apr. 1748*]
8 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1734 6 Apr. 1735 [10 Apr. 1735]	22 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1748 26 Mar. 1749 [6 Apr. 1749]
		23 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1749 15 Apr. 1750 [29 Mar. 1750]

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>
George II—continued		George III—continued	
24 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1750	6 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1765
	7 Apr. 1751		30 Mar. 1766
	[11 Apr. 1751]	7 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1766
25 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1751		19 Apr. 1767
	29 Mar. 1752*	8 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1767
	[2 Apr. 1752*]		3 Apr. 1768*
26 Geo. II ..	11 Jun. 1752* ¹	9 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1768
	22 Apr. 1753		26 Mar. 1769
	21 Jun. 1753	10 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1769
27 Geo. II ..	22 Jun. 1753		15 Apr. 1770
	14 Apr. 1754	11 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1770
28 Geo. II ..	22 Jun. 1754		31 Mar. 1771
	30 Mar. 1755	12 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1771
29 Geo. II ..	22 Jun. 1755		19 Apr. 1772*
	18 Apr. 1756*	13 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1772
30 Geo. II ..	22 Jun. 1756		11 Apr. 1773
	10 Apr. 1757	14 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1773
31 Geo. II ..	22 Jun. 1757		3 Apr. 1774
	26 Mar. 1758	15 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1774
32 Geo. II ..	22 Jun. 1758		16 Apr. 1775
	15 Apr. 1759	16 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1775
33 Geo. II ..	22 Jun. 1759		7 Apr. 1776*
	6 Apr. 1760*	17 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1776
34 Geo. II ..	22 Jun. 1760		30 Mar. 1777
	†25 Oct. 1760	18 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1777
			19 Apr. 1778
		19 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1778
			4 Apr. 1779
		20 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1779
			26 Mar. 1780*
		21 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1780
			15 Apr. 1781
		22 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1781
			31 Mar. 1782
		23 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1782
			20 Apr. 1783
		24 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1783
			11 Apr. 1784*
GEORGE III			
1 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1760		
	22 Mar. 1761		
2 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1761		
	11 Apr. 1762		
3 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1762		
	3 Apr. 1763		
4 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1763		
	22 Apr. 1764*		
5 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1764		
	7 Apr. 1765		

¹ In 1752 the New Style was adopted in all the British Dominions. The day after Wed. 2 Sep. 1752 was Thurs. 14 Sep. 1752. New Style Easter came in in 1753. The year 26 Geo. II. ended 21 Jun. 1753, and his subsequent years were reckoned from 22 Jun. From 1752 onwards the year begins on 1 Jan. instead of 25 Mar. (this had been the usage in Scotland since 1 Jan. 1600). See 24 Geo. II, 1751, c. 23.

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>
George III—continued		George III—continued	
25 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1784	45 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1804
	27 <i>Mar.</i> 1785		14 <i>Apr.</i> 1805
26 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1785	46 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1805
	16 <i>Apr.</i> 1786		6 <i>Apr.</i> 1806
27 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1786	47 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1806
	8 <i>Apr.</i> 1787		29 <i>Mar.</i> 1807
28 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1787	48 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1807
	23 <i>Mar.</i> 1788*		17 <i>Apr.</i> 1808*
29 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1788	49 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1808
	12 <i>Apr.</i> 1789		2 <i>Apr.</i> 1809
30 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1789	50 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1809
	4 <i>Apr.</i> 1790		22 <i>Apr.</i> 1810
31 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1790	51 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1810 ²
	24 <i>Apr.</i> 1791		14 <i>Apr.</i> 1811
32 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1791	52 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1811
	8 <i>Apr.</i> 1792*		29 <i>Mar.</i> 1812*
33 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1792	53 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1812
	31 <i>Mar.</i> 1793		18 <i>Apr.</i> 1813
34 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1793	54 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1813
	20 <i>Apr.</i> 1794		10 <i>Apr.</i> 1814
35 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1794	55 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1814
	5 <i>Apr.</i> 1795		26 <i>Mar.</i> 1815
36 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1795	56 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1815
	27 <i>Mar.</i> 1796*		14 <i>Apr.</i> 1816*
37 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1796	57 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1816
	16 <i>Apr.</i> 1797		6 <i>Apr.</i> 1817
38 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1797	58 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1817
	8 <i>Apr.</i> 1798		22 <i>Mar.</i> 1818
39 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1798	59 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1818
	24 <i>Mar.</i> 1799		11 <i>Apr.</i> 1819
40 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1799	60 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1819
	13 <i>Apr.</i> 1800 ¹		† 29 Jan. 1820
41 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1800		
	5 <i>Apr.</i> 1801		
42 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1801		
	18 <i>Apr.</i> 1802		
43 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1802		
	10 <i>Apr.</i> 1803		
44 Geo. III ..	25 Oct. 1803		
	1 <i>Apr.</i> 1804*		
		GEORGE IV	
		1 Geo. IV ..	29 Jan. 1820
			2 <i>Apr.</i> 1820*
		2 Geo. IV ..	29 Jan. 1821
			22 <i>Apr.</i> 1821

¹ The year 1800 was not a Leap Year.

² There was the Regency from 5 Feb. 1811 till George III's death, but no change was made in the Regnal Year.

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>
George IV—continued		Victoria—continued	
3 Geo. IV ..	29 Jan. 1822 7 <i>Apr.</i> 1822	3 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1839 19 <i>Apr.</i> 1840*
4 Geo. IV ..	29 Jan. 1823 30 <i>Mar.</i> 1823	4 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1840 11 <i>Apr.</i> 1841
5 Geo. IV ..	29 Jan. 1824 18 <i>Apr.</i> 1824*	5 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1841 27 <i>Mar.</i> 1842
6 Geo. IV ..	29 Jan. 1825 3 <i>Apr.</i> 1825	6 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1842 16 <i>Apr.</i> 1843
7 Geo. IV ..	29 Jan. 1826 26 <i>Mar.</i> 1826	7 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1843 7 <i>Apr.</i> 1844*
8 Geo. IV ..	29 Jan. 1827 15 <i>Apr.</i> 1827	8 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1844 23 <i>Mar.</i> 1845
9 Geo. IV ..	29 Jan. 1828 6 <i>Apr.</i> 1828*	9 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1845 12 <i>Apr.</i> 1846
10 Geo. IV ..	29 Jan. 1829 19 <i>Apr.</i> 1829	10 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1846 4 <i>Apr.</i> 1847
11 Geo. IV ..	29 Jan. 1830 11 <i>Apr.</i> 1830 †26 Jun. 1830	11 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1847 23 <i>Apr.</i> 1848*
WILLIAM IV		12 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1848 8 <i>Apr.</i> 1849
1 Wm. IV ..	26 Jun. 1830 3 <i>Apr.</i> 1831	13 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1849 31 <i>Mar.</i> 1850
2 Wm. IV ..	26 Jun. 1831 22 <i>Apr.</i> 1832*	14 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1850 20 <i>Apr.</i> 1851
3 Wm. IV ..	26 Jun. 1832 7 <i>Apr.</i> 1833	15 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1851 11 <i>Apr.</i> 1852*
4 Wm. IV ..	26 Jun. 1833 30 <i>Mar.</i> 1834	16 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1852 27 <i>Mar.</i> 1853
5 Wm. IV ..	26 Jun. 1834 19 <i>Apr.</i> 1835	17 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1853 16 <i>Apr.</i> 1854
6 Wm. IV ..	26 Jun. 1835 3 <i>Apr.</i> 1836*	18 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1854 8 <i>Apr.</i> 1855
7 Wm. IV ..	26 Jun. 1836 26 <i>Mar.</i> 1837 †20 Jun. 1837	19 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1855 23 <i>Mar.</i> 1856*
VICTORIA		20 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1856 12 <i>Apr.</i> 1857
1 Vic.	20 Jun. 1837 15 <i>Apr.</i> 1838	21 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1857 4 <i>Apr.</i> 1858
2 Vic.	20 Jun. 1838 31 <i>Mar.</i> 1839	22 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1858 24 <i>Apr.</i> 1859
		23 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1859 8 <i>Apr.</i> 1860*
		24 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1860 31 <i>Mar.</i> 1861

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>
Victoria—continued		Victoria—continued	
25 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1861	45 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1881
	20 <i>Apr.</i> 1862		9 <i>Apr.</i> 1882
26 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1862	46 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1882
	5 <i>Apr.</i> 1863		25 <i>Mar.</i> 1883
27 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1863	47 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1883
	27 <i>Mar.</i> 1864*		13 <i>Apr.</i> 1884*
28 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1864	48 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1884
	16 <i>Apr.</i> 1865		5 <i>Apr.</i> 1885
29 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1865	49 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1885
	1 <i>Apr.</i> 1866		25 <i>Apr.</i> 1886
30 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1866	50 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1886
	21 <i>Apr.</i> 1867		10 <i>Apr.</i> 1887
31 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1867	51 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1887
	12 <i>Apr.</i> 1868*		1 <i>Apr.</i> 1888*
32 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1868	52 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1888
	28 <i>Mar.</i> 1869		21 <i>Apr.</i> 1889
33 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1869	53 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1889
	17 <i>Apr.</i> 1870		6 <i>Apr.</i> 1890
34 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1870	• 54 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1890
	9 <i>Apr.</i> 1871		29 <i>Mar.</i> 1891
35 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1871	55 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1891
	31 <i>Mar.</i> 1872*		17 <i>Apr.</i> 1892*
36 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1872	56 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1892
	13 <i>Apr.</i> 1873		2 <i>Apr.</i> 1893
37 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1873	57 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1893
	5 <i>Apr.</i> 1874		25 <i>Mar.</i> 1894
38 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1874	58 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1894
	28 <i>Mar.</i> 1875		14 <i>Apr.</i> 1895
39 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1875	59 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1895
	16 <i>Apr.</i> 1876*		5 <i>Apr.</i> 1896*
40 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1876	60 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1896
	1 <i>Apr.</i> 1877		18 <i>Apr.</i> 1897
41 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1877	61 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1897
	21 <i>Apr.</i> 1878		10 <i>Apr.</i> 1898
42 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1878	62 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1898
	13 <i>Apr.</i> 1879		2 <i>Apr.</i> 1899
43 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1879	63 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1899
	28 <i>Mar.</i> 1880*		15 <i>Apr.</i> 1900 ¹
44 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1880	64 Vic. ..	20 Jun. 1900
	17 <i>Apr.</i> 1881		† 22 Jan. 1901

¹ The year 1900 was not a Leap Year.

REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>	REGNAL YEAR	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>
EDWARD VII		GEORGE V	
1 Edw. VII ..	22 Jan. 1901 7 <i>Apr.</i> 1901	1 Geo. V ..	6 May 1910 16 <i>Apr.</i> 1911
2 Edw. VII ..	22 Jan. 1902 30 <i>Mar.</i> 1902	2 Geo. V ..	6 May 1911 7 <i>Apr.</i> 1912*
3 Edw. VII ..	22 Jan. 1903 12 <i>Apr.</i> 1903	3 Geo. V ..	6 May 1912 23 <i>Mar.</i> 1913
4 Edw. VII ..	22 Jan. 1904 3 <i>Apr.</i> 1904*	4 Geo. V ..	6 May 1913 12 <i>Apr.</i> 1914
5 Edw. VII ..	22 Jan. 1905 23 <i>Apr.</i> 1905	5 Geo. V ..	6 May 1914 4 <i>Apr.</i> 1915
6 Edw. VII ..	22 Jan. 1906 15 <i>Apr.</i> 1906	6 Geo. V ..	6 May 1915 23 <i>Apr.</i> 1916*
7 Edw. VII ..	22 Jan. 1907 31 <i>Mar.</i> 1907	7 Geo. V ..	6 May 1916 8 <i>Apr.</i> 1917
8 Edw. VII ..	22 Jan. 1908 19 <i>Apr.</i> 1908*	8 Geo. V ..	6 May 1917 31 <i>Mar.</i> 1918
9 Edw. VII ..	22 Jan. 1909 11 <i>Apr.</i> 1909	9 Geo. V ..	6 May 1918 20 <i>Apr.</i> 1919
10 Edw. VII ..	22 Jan. 1910 27 <i>Mar.</i> 1910 †6 May 1910	10 Geo. V ..	6 May 1919 4 <i>Apr.</i> 1920* ¹
		GOD SAVE THE KING	

¹ For Easter dates 1920–2000 see Vol. II.

THE GREGORIAN REFORM OF THE KALENDAR

By his Bull, *Inter Gravissimas*, 24 Feb. 1581/2, Pope Gregory XIII. provided for the correction of the Kalendar by directing (1) that the date of the spring equinox should be moved from 11 Mar. to 21 Mar., the day fixed in 325 at the Council of Nicæa, by omitting the days between 4 and 15 Oct. 1582 (*i.e.*, the day after Thursday 4 Oct. was Monday, 15 Oct. 1582); and (2) that in order to correct the cumulative error involved in the system of an intercalated day every fourth year, no year marking the close of a century should be a Leap Year unless divisible without remainder by 400 (*i.e.*, 1600 and 2000 are Leap Years, but 1700, 1800, 1900, 2100 are not). There still remains an error of less than half a minute a year, which will have to be corrected when it has thrown the Kalendar a day out. In Mar. 1584/5 a Bill to extend the alteration to England was read twice in the House of Lords: but got no farther.

II. DIPLOMATIC TITLES OF ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS

THESE titles are those used in official documents—*e.g.*, charters and writs—and are not the titles found on coins or seals. The nucleus of the title, *Dei gratia Rex*, has remained unchanged for over eleven hundred years. The titles of Old English Kings are selected only in order to show the lineage of the post-Conquest regnal title.

I. SOME OLD ENGLISH TITLES

A.D.	
736	aetdilbalt rex britanniae.
774	Offa rex Anglorum.
812	coenuulf xpi gratia rex Merciorum.
814	coenuulf gratia di rex Merciorum.
875	ælfred gratia di rex.
c. 880	Ælfred Westseaxena cinge mid godes gife.
898	aelfredus gratia dei saxonum rex.
933	Æthelstanus gratia Dei largiente totius Brittaniae rex.
939	.ÆTHELSTANVS. diuina mihi adridente gratia rex anglorum et curagulus totius bryttaniae.
940	.EADMVNDVS. rex anglorum.

942-46 .EADMVNDVS . rex anglorum necnon et merciorum.

946 .EADMVNDVS . rex anglorum ceterarumque gentium in circuitu persistentium gubernator et rector.

947 Eadredus rex Anglorum ceterarumque gentium in circuitu persistentium gubernator et rector.

956 Eadwig rex anglorum.

956 Eadwig gr̄a dī totius brittanice telluris rex.

961 Eadgar rex anglorum.

987 æthelræd rex anglorum.

1020 CNUT cyning.

1020 CNUT cyncg [*or* cyngc].

1031 CNUT Britannie totius Anglorum monarchus.

1045 Eadweardus divina mihi arridente gratia rex anglorum et eque totius Albionis.

1045 Eadweardus rex totius Bryttaniae.

c. 1051 EADWARD kingc [*or* kyngc].

1058 EADUUEARD rex anglorum.

II. POST-CONQUEST TITLES

WILLIAM I.

A. *English dominions* :

1. Willelmus dei gracia tocius Brittanie monarches.
2. Willelmus Rex Anglorum.
3. Willelmus Gratia Dei Rex Anglorum.
4. Will'm kyng.

B. *Continental dominions* :

5. Willelmus Rex Anglorum Princeps Normannorum et Cenomannorum.

6. Willelmus Dei gratia Dux Normannorum et Rex Anglorum.
7. Mathyld regina.

WILLIAM II.

1. .W. rex Angt [=Willelmus Rex Anglorum].
2. Willelmus Willelmi regis filius Dei dispositione monarches Britannie.

HENRY I.

A. *English dominions* :

1. .H. rex anglt. or H. Rex Angt. [=Henricus, or Heinricus, Rex Anglorum].
2. .H. dei gratia Rex Anglorum.
3. Henricus filius Willelmi regis post obitum fratris sui Willelmi Dei gratia rex Anglorum.
4. [Sometimes, after 1106] Henricus Rex Anglorum et Dux [or Princeps] Normannorum.

B. *Continental dominions* :

5. Henricus Dux Normannorum et Comes Andegavorum.
6. Matildis Regina Anglorum.

STEPHEN

1. .S. rex anglt. or .S. Rex Angt. [=Stephanus Rex Anglorum].
2. Stephanus Dei gratia Rex Anglorum.

MATILDA

1. .M. Impatⁱx regis .H. filia [=Matildis Imperatrix regis Henrici filia].

2. .M .impat̃rix .H .reġ filia 7 anglo 7 dñā¹ [= Matildis Imperatrix Henrici regis filia et anglorum domina].
3. .M .Impat̃ix .H .Reġ filia . 7 Anglōr dñā.

HENRY II.

1. [Before his accession] .H . fit Coīm Andeg̃. [=Henricus filius Comit̃is Andegavorum].
2. [1154–c. May 1172] .H .Rex Angl̃ 7 Dux Norm̃ 7 Aquit̃ . 7 Coīm And̃ . or H .Rex Angl̃ . 7 Dux Norm̃ 7 Aq̃itañ . 7 Comes And̃ . [=Henricus Rex Anglorum et Dux Normannorum et Aquitannorum et Comes Andegavorum].²
3. [c. May 1173 onwards] .H . ði grā Rex angl̃ 7 Dux Norm̃ 7 Aquit̃ 7 Coīm And̃ .
4. [1155] H . þURH godes gefu ængle landes king.

RICHARD I.³

1. [After Henry II.'s death, 6 Jul. 1189, until his own coronation, 3 Sep. 1189] .R . ði grā dñs

¹ Matilda was styled *Anglorum Domina* after her election 7–8 Apr., 1141. *Dominus*, or *Domina*, was the correct style of a deceased sovereign's recognized successor before coronation. See the titles of Richard I. and John.

² The continual assertion of the titles of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Anjou was necessary, because (1) they carried status and office in France—*e.g.*, the Count of Anjou was hereditary seneschal of France, and (2) they did not naturally, or, indeed, often, cohere in one person. See the Hand-lists, farther on. For Henry II.'s use of the phrase *Dei gratia*, see Dr. R. L. Poole's note in *E. H. R.*, January, 1908, p. 79.

³ Richard I. (a) The Grace now becomes normal. (b) Though *Rex Anglorum* is still the correct style, *Rex Anglie* is sometimes found. (c) The Regnal date appears henceforth regularly.

Angl̄ 7 Dux Norīm 7 Aquīt 7 Coīm And .
[=Ricardus Dei gratia dominus Anglorum et
Dux Normannorum et Aquitannorum et Comes
Andegavorum].

2. [After his coronation] Riċ di grā Rex Angl̄ Dux
Norīm Aquīt Coīm And *or* Riċ di grā Rex Angl̄
Dux Norman̄ Aquīt Coīm Andeḡ.
3. Riċ di grā Rex Anglie Dux Norīm . Aquīt Coīm
Andeḡ.

JOHN¹

1. [Before his accession] Joĥs Coīm Moret̄ [=Johannes
Comes Moretonie].
2. [After Richard I.'s death, 6 Apr. 1199, until his
own coronation, 27 May, 1199] Johannes dñs
Angl̄.
3. [After his coronation] Johannes di grā Rex Angl̄
Dominus Hiber̄n Dux Norīm 7 Aquīt Coīm
Andeḡ [=Johannes Dei gratia Rex Anglie
Dominus Hibernie Dux Normannie et Aqi-
tannie Comes Andegavie].

HENRY III.

1. [1216–Oct. 1259] Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglie
Dominus Hibernie Dux Normannie et Aqi-
tannie Comes Andegavie.

¹ John. (a) *Anglie*, *Normannie*, *Aquitannie*, *Andegavie* now become the normal forms. (b) There are never less than one nor more than two *ets* in this title, though they may occur in three places: *N. Dei gratia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie* (3) *et Dux Normannie* (1) *et Aquitannie* (1) (2) *et Comes Andegavie*: if there is one *et*, it is generally placed between *Nor-mannie* and *Aquitannie*, but sometimes between *Aquitannie* and *Comes*. (c) *Hibernie* is sometimes spelt *Hybern*. John was created King (but styled only *Dominus*) of Ireland May, 1177; Earl of Mortain July, 1189; Earl of Cornwall late in 1189.

2. [Oct. 1259-1272] Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie et Dux Aquitannie.
3. Henry þurȝ Godes fultume King on Englene-loande, Lhoauerd on Yrloande, Duk on Norm' on Aquitaine and eorl on Anjow.
4. Henri par la grace de Deu Rey de Engleterre Sire de Irlande Duc de Normandie de Aquiten et cunte de Angou.

EDWARD I.

1. Edwardus dī grā Rex Anglie Dñs Hiġn 7 Dux Aquit̃ [=Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie et Dux Aquitanie] *or* Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie Dñs Hiġn Dux Aquit̃.
2. Edward par la grace de Dieu roy Dengleterre seignur Dirland et ducs Daquitaine.

EDWARD II.

1. [From 1307 until he created his son Edward Duke of Aquitaine, 1325] Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie et Dux Aquitanie.
2. [1325-1326-7] Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie.¹
3. Edward par la grace de Dieu Roi d'Engleterre Seignur d'Irlande et Ducs d'Aquitaine.

EDWARD III.

1. [From 1326-7 until Jan. 1339-40] Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie et Dux Aquitanie.

¹ In some Privy Seal documents, however, Edward II. retained the title of *Dux Aquitanie*.

2. [From 25 Jan. 1339-40 until 8 May 1360] Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie¹ et dominus Hibernie.
3. [From 8 May 1360, until 11 Jun. 1369] Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie dominus Hibernie et Aquitanie [*or et dux Aquitanie*].
4. [From 11 Jun. 1369 until his death, 21 Jun. 1377] Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie dominus Hibernie et dux Aquitanie.
5. [=2.] Edward par la grace de Dieu Roy d'Engleterre et de France et Seignur d'Irlande.
6. [=3.] Edward par la grace de Dieu Roi d'Engleterre Seignur d'Irlande e d'Aquitaigne.
7. Isabella Dei gratia regina Anglie dñā Hibernie et comitissa de Pontieu.
8. Philippe par la grace de Dieu Reine d'Engleterre Dame d'Irlande e d'Acquitaine.

RICHARD II.

1. Ricardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie.
2. Richard par la grace de Dieu Roy d'Engleterre et de France et Seignur d'Irlande.

HENRY IV.

1. Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie.
2. Henri par la grace de Dieu Roy d'Engleterre et de France et Seignur d'Irlande.

¹ Sometimes *Francie* precedes *Anglie* in this title.

HENRY V.

1. [From his accession, 1413, until 9 Apr. 1420]
Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et
dominus Hibernie.
2. [From 21 May, 1420, till his death, 1422] Henricus
Dei gratia Rex Anglie haeres et regens regni
Francie et dominus Hibernie.
3. [=2] Henry by the grace of God Kyng of England
Heire & Regent of the rewme of France and
Lord of Irlande.

HENRY VI.

1. Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et
Dominus Hibernie.
2. Henry par la grace de Dieu Roy d'Engleterre et
de France et Seignur d'Irlande.
3. [In documents issued from his French Chancery
at Paris] Henricus Dei gratia Francorum et
Anglie Rex.

EDWARD IV.

1. Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et
Dominus Hibernie.
2. Edward par la grace de Dieu Roy d'Engleterre
et de France et seignur d'Irlande.
3. Edwarde by the grace of God King of Englande
and of France and lord of Irlande.

EDWARD V.

1. Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et
Dominus Hibernie.
- 2 and 3. As for Edward IV.

RICHARD III.

1. Ricardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie.
- 2 and 3. As for Edward IV.

HENRY VII.

1. Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie.
- 2 and 3. As for Edward IV.

HENRY VIII.

1. [From his accession, 1509, until 1521] Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie.
2. [From 1521 until 1525] Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie Fidei Defensor¹ et Dominus Hibernie.]
3. [From 1525 until 1534] Henricus Octavus Dei gratia Anglie et Francie Rex Fidei Defensor et Dominus Hibernie.
4. [From 1534 until 1541] Henricus Octavus Dei gratia Anglie et Francie Rex Fidei Defensor Dominus Hibernie et in terra Supremum Caput Anglicane Ecclesie.
5. [From 1541 until his death, 28 Jan. 1546-7] Henricus Octavus Dei gratia Anglie Francie et Hibernie Rex Fidei Defensor et in terra

¹ The title *Fidei Defensor* was conferred on Henry VIII. 11 Oct. 1521 by Pope Leo X. for his book against Martin Luther.

Ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernice Supremum Caput.

6. [=3 above] Henry the viijth by the grace of God of England and of Fraunce Kyng Defender of the Faith and Lorde of Ireland.

EDWARD VI.

1. Edwardus Sextus Dei gratia Anglie Francie et Hibernie Rex Fidei Defensor et in terra Ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernice Supremum Caput.

JANE

1. Jana Dei gratia Anglie Francie et Hibernie Regina Fidei Defensor atque in terra Ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernice Supremum Caput.

MARY

1. Maria Dei gratia Anglie Francie et Hibernie Regina Fidei Defensor et in terra Ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernice Supremum Caput.
 2. Maria Dei gratia Anglie Francie et Hibernie Regina eius nominis prima Fidei Defensor et in terra Ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernice Supremum Caput.

PHILIP AND MARY

1. [From 25 Jul. 1554, until 1556] Philippus et Maria Dei gratia Rex et Regina Anglie Francie Neapolis Jerusalem et Hibernie Fidei Defensores Principes Hispaniarum et Sicilie Archiduces Austrie et Duces Mediolani Burgundie et

Brabantie Comites Haspurgi Flandrie et Tirolis.

2. [The same in English] Philip and Mary by the grace of God King and Queen of England France Naples Jerusalem and Ireland Defenders of the Faith Princes of Spain and Sicily Archdukes of Austria Dukes of Milan Burgundy and Brabant Counts of Hapsburg Flanders and Tyrol.
3. [From the resignation of the Emperor Charles V., 23 Aug. 1556, until Mary's death, 1558] Philippus et Maria Dei gratia Anglie Hispaniarum Francie Jerusalem Utriusque Sicilie et Hibernie Rex et Regina Fidei Defensores Archiduces Austrie Duces Burgundie Mediolani et Brabantie Comites Haspurgi Flandrie et Tirolis.

ELIZABETH

1. Elizabetha Dei gratia Anglie Francie et Hibernie Regina Fidei Defensor etc.¹
2. Elizabeth by the grace of God Quene² of Englande Fraunce and Irelande Defendour of the Faythe etc.

JAMES I.

1. Jacobus Dei gratia Anglie Scotie Francie et Hibernie Rex Fidei Defensor, etc.
2. James by the grace of God King of England

¹ *Etc.*, was a convenient means of holding *in terrorem cleri Anglicani* the offensive title *et in terra Ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernice Supremum Caput*.

² *Quene* sometimes followed *Irelande*.

Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the Faith, etc.

CHARLES I.

1. [From his accession, 1625, until 1640] Carolus Dei gratia Anglie Scotie Francie et Hibernie Rex Fidei Defensor, etc.
2. [From 1640, until his death, 1648-9] Carolus Dei gratia Magne Britannie Francie et Hibernie Rex Fidei Defensor, etc.
3. [=1.] Charles by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the Faith, etc.

THE COMMONWEALTH

1. The Keepers of the Liberties of England by the authority of Parliament.
2. [Oliver Cromwell, 16 Dec. 1653, until his death, 3 Sep. 1658] Olivarius Reipublicae Angliae Scotiae et Hiberniae, etc., Protector.
- 3 [From 16 Dec. 1653, until his death, 3 Sep. 1658] Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England Scotland and Ireland and the dominions and territories thereunto [*or thereto*] belonging.
4. [Richard Cromwell, 4 Sep. 1658, until his resignation, May 1659] Ricardus Reipublicae Angliae Scotiae et Hiberniae, etc., Protector.
5. [The same as 3, but substituting *Richard* for *Oliver*].

CHARLES II.

1. [1660] Charles by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the Faith, etc.

2. Carolus Secundus¹ Dei gratia Anglie Scotie Francie et Hibernie Rex Fidei Defensor, etc.
3. Charles the Second¹ by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the Faith, etc.

JAMES II.

1. Jacobus Secundus Dei gratia Anglie Scotie Francie et Hibernie Rex Fidei Defensor, etc.
2. James the Second by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the Faith, etc.

WILLIAM AND MARY

1. Gulielmus et Maria Dei gratia Anglie Scotie Francie et Hibernie Rex et Regina Fidei Defensores, etc.

WILLIAM III.

1. Gulielmus Dei gratia Anglie Scotie Francie et Hibernie Rex Fidei Defensor, etc.

ANNE

1. Anna Dei Gratia Anglie Scotie Francie et Hibernie Regina Fidei Defensor, etc.
2. Anne by the grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland Queen Defender of the Faith, etc.

¹ Sometimes II. was used for *Secundus* and *the Second*.

3. [After the Union with Scotland, 1 May, 1707]
Anna Dei gratia Magnae Britanniae Franciae et
Hiberniae Regina¹ Fidei Defensor, etc.
4. Anne by the grace of God Queen of Great Britain
France and Ireland Defender of the Faith, etc.

GEORGE I.

1. Georgius Dei gratia Magnae Britanniae Franciae
et Hiberniae Rex Fidei Defensor Dux Brunsvicensis et Luneburgensis Sacri Romani Imperii
Archi-Thesaurarius et Princeps Elector, etc.
2. [—the usual form of 1.] Georgius Dei gratia
Magnae Britanniae Franciae et Hiberniae Rex
Fidei Defensor, etc.²
3. George by the grace of God of Great Britain
France and Ireland King Defender of the
Faith, etc.

GEORGE II.

- 1, 2, 3, as for George I., with the addition of *Secundus*
after *Georgius* and *the Second* after *George*.

GEORGE III.

- 1, 2, 3 [From his accession, 1760, until the Union
with Ireland, 1 Jan. 1801], as for George I., with
the addition of *Tertius* after *Georgius*, and *the Third*
after *George*.
4. [From 1 Jan. 1801, until his death, 1820] Georgius

¹ Cf. Pope's lines:—

“Where thou, great Anna, whom three Realms obey,
Dost sometimes counsel take, and sometimes tea.”

² *Etc.* thus meant more to the Georges than to Elizabeth. Cf. the titles of the Angevins. It was as Dukes of Brunswick-Luneburg that they were members of the Imperial College of Prince Electors.

Tertius Dei gratia Britanniarum Rex Fidei Defensor.¹

5. [English form of 4.] George the Third by the grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King Defender of the Faith.

GEORGE IV.

1. Georgius Quartus Dei gratia Britanniarum Rex Fidei Defensor.
2. George the Fourth by the grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King Defender of the Faith.

WILLIAM IV.

- 1 and 2. As for George IV., substituting *Gulielmus* and *William* for *Georgius* and *George*.

VICTORIA.

1. [From her accession, 1837, until 1 Jan. 1877]
Victoria Dei gratia Britanniarum Regina Fidei Defensor.
2. [English form of 1.] Victoria by the grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen Defender of the Faith.
3. [From 1 Jan. 1877, until her death, 22 Jan. 1902]
Victoria Dei gratia Britanniarum Regina Fidei Defensor Indiae Imperatrix.

¹ The necessity to change the King's style occasioned by the Union with Ireland was made the opportunity of getting rid of the obnoxious pretensions involved in *Francie* and *etc.*

4. [English form of 3.] Victoria by the grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen Defender of the Faith Empress of India.

EDWARD VII.

1. Edward by the grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas King Defender of the Faith Emperor of India.
2. [Latin form of 1.] Edwardus VII Dei gratia Britanniarum et terrarum transmarinarum quae in ditione sunt Britannica Rex Fidei Defensor Indiae Imperator.

GEORGE V.

1. George by the grace of God¹ of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, etc., etc., etc.²

¹ *Gratia Dei* appears to have been first used in an imperial diplomatic title by Charlemagne, 768–814. The phrase was used only by anointed monarchs. *Nullus potest proprie uti isto verbo Dei Gratia, qui in laicali positus est dignitate, nisi sit imperator vel rex vel alter qui sui capitis recepit unctionem. Nam tales unguntur oleo sancto.* (Petrus de Boateriis, cited by Selden, *Titles of Honour*, p. 92, *apud* Maskell, *op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. xiii.) By the old Provinciale Romanum the Emperor and the Kings of England, Jerusalem, France, and Sicily were alone entitled to unction as well as consecration. For two years the four latter titles cohered in Philip and Mary. Of the five but one remains.

² The meaning of the triple *etc.* is not clear, but some gradation of compliment is probably intended. The Sovereign's Style is thrice proclaimed, in Latin, French, and English, during the Coronation Banquet.

III. HAND-LISTS

(a) DUCES NORMANNORUM, NORMANNIE

Rollo <i>or</i> Rolf	921 <i>or</i> ? 911	res. <i>or</i> †927
William I Longue-épée	927	†17 Dec. 942
Richard I Sans-peur ..	942	†20 Nov. 996
Richard II le bon ..	20 Nov. 996	†23 Aug. 1026
Richard III	23 Aug. 1026	†6 Aug. 1027
Robert le Diable ..	6 Aug. 1027	†2 Jul. 1035
William II the Conqueror	1035	†9 Sep. 1087
Robert II Courte-Heuse	Sep. 1087	dep. 28 Sep. 1106
		†10 Feb. 1134
William II Rufus (Duke Regent)	1096	†2 Aug. 1100
Henry I Beaulere ..	28 Sep. 1106	†1 Dec. 1135
Stephen of Blois ..	1 Dec. 1135	Jan. 1144
Geoffrey Plantagenet ..	19 Jan. 1144	res. 1148
Henry II of Anjou ..	1148	res. 1153
William III	1153	†1156
Henry II of Anjou ..	1156	†6 Jul. 1189
Richard IV (I of Eng-land)	20 Jul. 1189	†6 Apr. 1199
John Lackland	25 Apr. 1199	dep. 1204 ¹
French Crown	24 Jun. 1204	
Jean de Valois	1331	King, 1350
Charles	1351	King, 1364
Charles	1465	1469
French Crown	1469	

(b) DUCES AQUITANNORUM, AQUITANNIE (GUIENNE) ET COMITES PICTAVENSIIUM (POITOU, POICTIERS)

William VIII	1058	†1087
William IX	1087	†10 Feb. 1127
William X	1127	† 9 Apr. 1137
Eleanor, dr. of W. X, and Louis VII of France, her husband	29 Jun. 1137	divorce of Eleanor, 18 Mar. 1152

¹ In 1204 Philip II of France conquered and confiscated Normandy, which was finally united to the French Crown by Louis XI in 1469. But persons representing the Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine attended English Coronations so long as *Francie* formed part of the Royal Style. The Dukes of Normandy were crowned by the Archbishop of Rouen in his Cathedral.

(b) DUCES AQUITANNORUM, AQUITANNIE (GUIENNE) ET COMITES PICTAVENSIIUM (POITOU, POICTIERS)—*continued*

Eleanor and Henry II of Anjou her husband	18 May 1152	res. 1169
Richard I of England ..	1169	res. 1196
Otto of Brunswick	1196	Emperor, 1198
Richard I of England ..	1198	†6 Apr. 1199
Eleanor and John Lackland	6 Apr. 1199	death of Eleanor, 1 Apr. 1204
John Lackland	Apr. 1204	†19 Oct. 1216
English Crown	1216	
AQUITAINE ONLY		
Edward, son of Edward II	10 Sep. 1325	King, 25 Jan. 1326/7
John duc de Berry ..	1357	8 May 1360
Edward the Black Prince ¹	19 Jul. 1362	Nov. 1369
		†8 Jun. 1376
John duc de Berri ..	1369	
John of Gaunt	2 Mar. 1388/9	†3 Feb. 1398/9
Henry, son of Henry IV	16 Oct. 1399	King, 21 Mar. 1412/13
French Crown	1416	1417
Charles Dauphin ..	17 May 1417	1422
French Crown	1422	
POITOU ONLY		
Richard, br. of Henry III	? 13 Feb. 1225	King of the Romans, cr. 17 May 1257
		†2 Apr. 1272
French Crown	1316	

(c) COMITES ANDEGAVORUM, ANDEGAVIE (ANJOU)

Geoffrey III	1066	dep. 1068 †c. 1098
Fulk IV	1068	†14 Apr. 1109
Geoffrey IV (with his father)	1098	†19 May 1106
Fulk V le jeune ..	1109	
COUNTS OF ANJOU AND MAINE		
Fulk V le jeune (by marriage)	1110	King of Jerusalem, 1129 †1144
Geoffrey Plantagenet le bel	1129	†7 Sep. 1151

¹ Styled *Princeps Aquitanie*, as Edward III erected the Duchy, combined with Gascony, into a Principality. It seems to have reverted to a Duchy under Richard II, as John of Gaunt is styled *Dux Aquitanie*.

(c) COMITES ANDEGAVORUM, ANDEGAVIE (ANJOU)—*continued*

Henry II of Anjou ..	7 Sep. 1151	res. 1169
Henry FitzHenry ..	1169	†11 Jun. 1183
Henry II of Anjou ..	11 Jun. 1183	†6 Jul. 1189
Richard I of England ..	6 Jul. 1189	†6 Apr. 1199
Arthur of Brittany ..	18 Apr. 1199	†1203
John Lackland	1202	1204 ¹

(d) COMITES ET DUCES CORNUBIE (CORNWALL)

William of Mortain ..	1087	dep. 1104
Reginald de Dunstanville, illegitimate son of Henry I	1140	†1 Jul. 1175
John Lackland	1189	res. 1215
Richard FitzCount, illegitimate son of Reg. de Dunstanville	1215	res. 1220
Richard, br. of Henry III	(confirmed Feb. 1216/17) 13 Feb. 1225 (confirmed 10 Aug. 1231)	†2 Apr. 1272
Edmund, son of Richard	13 Oct. 1272	†1 Oct. 1300
Piers Gaveston	6 Aug. 1307	†19 Jun. 1312
John, 2nd son of Edw. II	Oct. 1328	†Oct. 1336
DUCES CORNUBIE		
Edward, the Black Prince ²	17 Mar. 1336/7	†8 Jun. 1376
Richard, son of the Black Prince.	creation, 20 Nov. 1376	King, 22 Jun. 1377
Henry, son of Henry IV	creation, 15 Oct. 1399	King, 21 Mar. 1412/13
Henry, son of Henry V	birth, 6 Dec. 1421	King, 1 Sep. 1422
Edward, son of Henry VI	birth, 13 Oct. 1453	†4 May 1471
Edward, son of Edw. IV	creation, 17 Jul. 1471	King, 9 Apr. 1483

¹ In August 1204 Philip II of France conquered Anjou. In 1259 by the Treaty of Paris Henry III formally ceded Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, Maine, and Poitou to Louis IX. All north of the Loire was reconquered by Henry V, but was finally ceded to Charles VII by Henry VI. Anjou was finally united to the French Crown in 1480, and Maine in 1481.

² Styled *Dux Cornubie et Comes Cestrie*. This was the first time that a dukedom had been created in England. The duchy of Cornwall was confined to the King's eldest son.

(d) COMITES ET DUCES CORNUBIE (CORNWALL)—*continued*

Edward, son of Ric. III	father's accession, 26 Jun. 1483	†31 Mar. 1484
Arthur, son of Hen. VII	birth, 19 Sep. 1486	†2 Apr. 1502
Henry, son of Hen. VII	brother's death, 2 Apr. 1502	King, 22 Apr. 1509
Henry, son of Hen. VIII	birth, Jan. 1509/10	†22 Feb. 1509/10
Edward, son of Hen. VIII	birth, 12 Oct. 1537	King, 28 Jan. 1546/7
Henry, son of James I	father's accession, 24 Mar. 1602/3	†6 Nov. 1612
Charles, son of James I	brother's death, 6 Nov. 1612	King, 27 Mar. 1625
Charles, son of Charles I	birth, 29 May 1630	[King, 30 Jan. 1648/9]
James Francis Edward, son of James II	birth, 10 Jun. 1688	father's abdication, • Dec. 1688
George Augustus, son of George I	birth, 10 Nov. (N.S.) 1683	King, 11 Jun. 1727
Frederick Louis, son of Geo. II	birth, 6 Jan. 1707	†20 Mar. 1751
George Augustus Fred- erick, son of Geo. III	birth, 12 Aug. 1762	King, 29 Jan. 1820
Albert Edward, son of Victoria	birth, 9 Nov. 1841	King, 22 Jan. 1901
George, son of Albert Edward	father's accession, 22 Jan. 1901	King, 6 May 1910
Edward, son of Geo. V	father's accession, 6 May 1910	

(e) COMITES CESTRIE (CHESTER)

Pre-Norman. Gerbod		left Eng. 1071
1. Hugh d'Avranches, le gros, and Lupus (be- came a monk)	1071	†27 Jul. 1101
2. Richard d'Avranches, son of Hugh, o.s.p.	invested c. 1107	†drowned in <i>White Ship</i> , 25 Nov. 1120
3. Randulf le Meschin de Briquessart, cousin to Richard; Lord of Cumberland till 1121	1121	†? 1129
4. Randulf de Gernons, d'Avranches and Ba- yeux, son of Randulf	1129	†16 Dec. 1153
5. Hugh Cyveiliog, son of R. de Gernons	1153	†30 Jun. 1181

(e) COMITES CESTRIE (CHESTER)—*continued*

6. Randulf de Blundevill, and d'Avranches, son of Hugh Cyveiliog, o.s.p. ¹	1181	†26 Oct. 1232
7. John de Scotia, Earl of Huntingdon, nephew of 6, o.s.p. ²	1232	†7 Jun. 1237
English Crown	1237	marriage of Edward, 1254
Edward Longshanks ³ ..	1254	King, 1272
English Crown	1272	1300/1

(f) PRINCIPES GALLIE (WALES) ET COMITES CESTRIE

Edward of Carnarvon ..	7 Feb. 1300/1	King, 7 Jul. 1307
Edward, son of Edw. II, Earl of Chester only ..	1320	King, 25 Jan. 1326/7
Edward, the Black Prince: Earl of Chester ..	18 Mar. 1332/3 } 12 May 1343 }	†8 Jun. 1376
Prince of Wales ..	20 Nov. 1376	King, 22 Jun. 1377
Richard, son of Black Prince		
Henry, son of Henry IV	15 Oct. 1399	King, 21 Mar. 1412/13
Edward, son of Hen. VI	9 Jun. 1454	†4 May 1471
Edward, son of Edw. IV	26 Jun. 1471	King, 9 Apr. 1483
Edward, son of Ric. III	24 Aug. 1483	†31 Mar. 1484
Arthur, son of Hen. VII	1 Dec. 1489	†2 Apr. 1502
Henry, son of Hen. VII	18 Feb. 1502/3	King, 22 Apr. 1509
Henry, son of James I ..	4 Jun. 1610	†6 Nov. 1612
Charles, son of James I	4 Nov. 1616	King, 27 Mar. 1625

¹ In 1187 Randulf became Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond by right of his wife, Constance, the widow of Geoffrey, son of Henry II, but she divorced him, 1200. From 1187 to 1200 he was styled *Randulphus dux Britannie Comes Cestrie et Richmundie*. On 23 May 1217 he was created Earl of Lincoln, but resigned the earldom Apr. 1231, to Hawisa, his sister, who transferred her right to it to John de Lacy, her son-in-law. From 1217 till 1231 he was styled *Comes Cestrie et Lincoln*.

² Styled *Johannes de Scotia Comes Cestrie et Huntynghdon*.

³ On his marriage to Eleanor of Castile, Edward became Lord of Gascony and of the Channel Isles, Earl of Chester, Lord of the royal demesnes in Wales, and Lord of Ireland.

(f) PRINCIPES GALLIE (WALES) ET COMITES CESTRIE—*continued*

George Augustus, son of Geo. I	27 Sep. 1714	King, 11 Jun. 1727
Frederick Louis, son of Geo. II	9 Jan. 1729	†20 Mar. 1751
Geo. Wm. Frederick, son of Fred. Lewis	19 Apr. 1751	King, 25 Oct. 1760
George, son of Geo. III	17 Aug. 1762	King, 29 Jan. 1820
Albert Edward, son of Victoria	8 Dec. 1841	King, 22 Jan. 1901
George, son of Edw. VII	9 Nov. 1901	King, 6 May 1910
Edward, son of Geo. V..	23 Jun. 1910	

(g) COMITES ET DUCES LANCASTRIE

Edmund, son of Hen. III	30 Jun. 1267	†4 Jun. 1297
Thomas, son of Edmund ¹	4 Jun. 1297	†22 Mar. 1321/2
Henry, son of Edmund	6 May 1342	†22 Sep. 1345
Henry, son of Henry ..	22 Sep. 1345	duke, 6 Mar. 1350/1
DUCES LANCASTRIE		
Henry, ut supra ..	6 Mar. 1350/1	†24 Mar. 1360/1
John of Gaunt ²	13 Nov. 1362	
With Palatinate jurisdiction	28 Feb. 1376/7	†3 Feb. 1398/9
Henry Bolingbroke, son of John of Gaunt	1399	King, 30 Sep. 1399 ³
Henry, son of Henry Bolingbroke	10 Nov. 1399	King, 21 Mar. 1412/13

¹ Styled *Thomas Comes Lancastrie et Leycestr senescallus Anglie*.

² See p. 75 for the Ducal years of Dukes Henry and John.

³ Since Henry IV had a better title to the Duchy than to the Crown he kept them separate and arranged that the ducal succession should be governed by the ducal charters. Edward IV, on the contrary, had the crown by right, and the duchy by forfeiture. He therefore re-erected the merged duchy and arranged that, though still separate, it should belong to him and his heirs, Kings of England, perpetually, and be a county Palatine. The same arrangement was made by Henry VII, who, by dating his reign from the day before the battle of Bosworth, made Richard III a legal traitor whose possessions were forfeit to the Crown.

(h) SOVEREIGNS OF SCOTLAND 1057-1707

SOVEREIGN	BEGINNING OF REIGN	END OF REIGN
Malcolm III (Ceanmohr)	3 Apr. 1057	†13 Nov. 1093
Donald VI (Bane) ..	13 Nov. 1093	dep. May 1094
Duncan II	May 1094	†1095
Donald VI (restored) ..	Nov. 1095	dep. and †1097
Edgar	Sep. 1097	†8 Jan. 1106/7
Alexander I	8 Jan. 1106/7	†27 Apr. 1124
David I	27 Apr. 1124 ¹	†24 May 1153
Malcolm IV	24 May 1153	†9 Dec. 1165
William the Lion ..	9 Dec. 1165	†4 Dec. 1214
Alexander II	cr. 5 Dec. 1214	†8 Jul. 1249
Alexander III	8 Jul. 1249	†19 Mar. 1285/6
Margaret	19 Mar. 1285/6	†Sep. 1290
[Interregnum	1290	1292]
John Baliol	17 Nov. 1292	2 Jul. 1296
[Interregnum	1296	1306]
Robert I Bruce	cr. 25 Mar. 1306	†7 Jun. 1329
David II Bruce	7 Jun. 1329	dep. Sep. 1332
[Edward Baliol	Sep. 1332	Dec. 1332]
David II	1332 ²	†22 Feb. 1370/1
Robert II Stuart ..	22 Feb. 1371	†19 Apr. 1390
Robert III	19 Apr. 1390	†4 Apr. 1406
James I	4 Apr. 1406 ³	†20/21 Feb. 1436/7
James II	21 Feb. 1436/7	†3 Aug. 1460
James III	3 Aug. 1460	†11 Jun. 1488
James IV	11 Jun. 1488	† 9 Sep. 1513
James V	9 Sep. 1513	†14 Dec. 1542
Mary	14 Dec. 1542	abd. 24 Jul. 1567
James VI	24 Jul. 1567	†27 Mar. 1625
Charles I	27 Mar. 1625	†30 Jan. 1648/9
Charles II	30 Jan. 1648/9	†6 Feb. 1684/5
James VII	6 Feb. 1684/5	fled 11 Dec. 1688
William and Mary ..	11 May 1689	M. †28 Dec. 1694
William	28 Dec. 1694	†8 Mar. 1701/2
Anne	8 Mar. 1701/2	Union 1 May 1707

¹ Regnal Years of Scottish Kings were reckoned from their accession (certainly, from the reign of David I, and, presumably, before him), not their coronation, which was of less importance than in England. Their usual title was *Dei gratia Rex Scottorum*. The acts of the English Governors were dated with the year of our Lord *et gubernationis nostre anno* [*primo*], without reference to the captive King.

² David II was a prisoner in England 1346-1357.

³ James I was a prisoner in England 1406-1424.

(i) FRENCH SOVEREIGNS 987-1793

SOVEREIGN	BEGINNING OF REIGN	END OF REIGN
THE CAPETS		
Hugh Capet	3 Jul. 987	†24 Oct. 996
Robert II le pieux	24 Oct. 996	†20 Jul. 1031
Henry I	20 Jul. 1031	†29 Aug. 1060
Philip I	cr. ¹ 23 May 1039 ²	†29 Jul. 1108
Louis VI le gros	cr. 3 Aug. 1108	†1 Aug. 1137
Louis VII le jeune	cr. 25 Oct. 1131	†18 Sep. 1180
Philip II Augustus	cr. 29 May 1180	†14 Jul. 1223
Louis VIII le Lion	cr. 6 Aug. 1223	†8 Nov. 1226
Louis IX le saint	cr. 29 Nov. 1226	†25 Aug. 1270
Philip III le hardi	cr. 15 Aug. 1271	†6 Oct. 1285
Philip IV le bel	cr. 6 Jan. 1286	†29 Nov. 1314
Louis X le Hutin	cr. 3 Aug. 1315	†8 Jun. 1316
John I	born 15 Nov. 1316	†19 Nov. 1316
Philip V le long	cr. 6 Jan. 1317	†3 Jan. 1322
Charles IV le bel	cr. 21 Feb. 1322	†1 Feb. 1328
THE VALOIS		
Philip VI de Valois	cr. 27 May 1328	†22 Aug. 1350
John II le bon	cr. 26 Sep. 1350	†8 Apr. 1364
Charles V le sage	cr. 19 May 1364	†16 Sep. 1380
Charles VI le bien aimé	cr. 4 Nov. 1380	†21 Oct. 1422
Henry VI of England	cr. 16 Dec. 1431	
Charles VII le victorieux	cr. 17 Jul. 1429	†22 Jul. 1461
Louis XI.. ..	cr. 15 Aug. 1461	†30 Aug. 1483
Charles VIII	cr. 30 May 1484	†7 Apr. 1498
Louis XII of Orleans	cr. 27 May 1498	†1 Jan. 1515
Francis I.. ..	cr. 25 Jan. 1515	†31 Mar. 1547
Henry II.. ..	cr. 28 Jul. 1547	†10 Jul. 1559
Francis II	cr. 18 Sep. 1559	†5 Dec. 1560
Charles IX	cr. 15 May 1561	†30 May 1574
Henry III	cr. 15 Feb. 1575	†2 Aug. 1589

¹ Regnal Years of French Kings were reckoned from the date of their coronation. Their usual title was *Dei gratia Rex Francorum*.

² Kings who were crowned during their fathers' lifetime used their coronation date on their actual accession to the throne.

(i) FRENCH SOVEREIGNS 987-1793—(*continued*)

SOVEREIGN	BEGINNING OF REIGN	END OF REIGN
THE BOURBONS		
Henry IV	cr. 27 Feb. 1594	†14 May 1610
Louis XIII	cr. 17 Oct. 1610	†14 May 1643
Louis XIV	cr. 7 Jun. 1654	†1 Sep. 1715
Louis XV	cr. 25 Oct. 1722	†10 May 1774
Louis XVI	cr. 11 Jun. 1775	†21 Jan. 1793

(k) KINGS OF ENGLAND BEFORE THE CONQUEST

SOVEREIGN	BEGINNING OF REIGN	END OF REIGN
Egbert	c. 829	†839
Ethelwulf	839	†13 Jan. 858
Ethelbald	858	†860
Ethelbert	860	†866
Ethelred	866	†after Easter 871
Alfred the Great ..	871	†26 Oct. 899 <i>or</i> 900
Edward the Elder ..	899 <i>or</i> 900	†924 <i>or</i> 925
Athelstan	924 <i>or</i> 925	†27 Oct. 940
Edmund	940	†26 May 946
Edred	946	†23 Nov. 955
Edwy	955	†1 Oct. 959
Edgar	959, cr. 11 May 973	†8 Jul. 975
Edward the Martyr ..	975	†18 Mar. 978
Ethelred the Redeless ..	cr. 14 Apr. 978	fled, end Dec. 1013
Sweyn	? Nov. 1013	†3 Feb. 1014
Ethelred restored ..	Lent 1014	†23 Apr. 1016
Edmund Ironside ..	Apr. 1016	†30 Nov. 1016
Cnut	1016	†12 Nov. 1035
Harold Harefoot ..	1035	†17 Mar. 1040
Harthacnut	1040	†8 Jun. 1042
Edward the Confessor ..	1042, cr. 3 Apr. 1043	†5 Jan. 1066
Harold	cr. 6 Jan. 1066	†14 Oct. 1066

IV

(a) THE PALATINATE OF LANCASTER¹

Henry, Duke of Lancaster with Palatinate jurisdiction, 6 Mar. 1350/1, †24 Mar. 1360/1. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, was granted Palatinate jurisdiction, 28 Feb. 1376/7, †3 Feb. 1398/9.

DUCAL YEARS	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>	DUCAL YEARS	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>
HENRY FIRST DUKE OF LANCASTER		JOHN SECOND DUKE OF LANCASTER	
1 Hen. Lanc. . .	6 Mar. 1350/1 17 Apr. 1351	1 John Lanc.	28 Feb. 1376/7 29 Mar. 1377
2 Hen. Lanc. . .	6 Mar. 1351/2 8 Apr. 1352*	2 John Lanc.	28 Feb. 1377/8 18 Apr. 1378
3 Hen. Lanc. . .	6 Mar. 1352/3 24 Mar. 1352/3	3 John Lanc.	28 Feb. 1378/9 10 Apr. 1379
4 Hen. Lanc. . .	6 Mar. 1353/4 13 Apr. 1354	4 John Lanc.	28 Feb. 1379/80 25 Mar. 1380*
5 Hen. Lanc. . .	6 Mar. 1354/5 5 Apr. 1355	5 John Lanc.	28 Feb. 1380/1 14 Apr. 1381
6 Hen. Lanc. . .	6 Mar. 1355/6 24 Apr. 1356*	6 John Lanc.	28 Feb. 1381/2 6 Apr. 1382
7 Hen. Lanc. . .	6 Mar. 1356/7 9 Apr. 1357	7 John Lanc.	28 Feb. 1382/3 22 Mar. 1382/3
8 Hen. Lanc. . .	6 Mar. 1357/8 1 Apr. 1358	8 John Lanc.	28 Feb. 1383/4 10 Apr. 1384*
9 Hen. Lanc. . .	6 Mar. 1358/9 21 Apr. 1359	9 John Lanc.	28 Feb. 1384/5 2 Apr. 1385
10 Hen. Lanc. . .	6 Mar. 1359/60 5 Apr. 1360*	10 John Lanc.	28 Feb. 1385/6 22 Apr. 1386
11 Hen. Lanc. . .	6 Mar. 1360/1 †24 Mar. 1360/1 [28 Mar. 1361]	11 John Lanc.	28 Feb. 1386/7 7 Apr. 1387

¹ See p. 71 for a hand-list of the Earls and Dukes of Lancaster.

DUCAL YEARS	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>	DUCAL YEARS	First Day <i>Easter Day</i>
John, Second Duke of Lancaster — <i>continued</i>		John, Second Duke of Lancaster — <i>continued</i>	
12 John Lanc.	28 Feb. 1387/8 29 <i>Mar.</i> 1388*	18 John Lanc.	28 Feb. 1393/4 19 <i>Apr.</i> 1394
13 John Lanc.	28 Feb. 1388/9 18 <i>Apr.</i> 1389	19 John Lanc.	28 Feb. 1394/5 11 <i>Apr.</i> 1395
14 John Lanc.	28 Feb. 1389/90 3 <i>Apr.</i> 1390	20 John Lanc.	28 Feb. 1395/6 2 <i>Apr.</i> 1396*
15 John Lanc.	28 Feb. 1390/1 26 <i>Mar.</i> 1391	21 John Lanc.	28 Feb. 1396/7 22 <i>Apr.</i> 1397
16 John Lanc.	28 Feb. 1391/2 14 <i>Apr.</i> 1392*	22 John Lanc.	28 Feb. 1397/8 7 <i>Apr.</i> 1398
17 John Lanc.	28 Feb. 1392/3 6 <i>Apr.</i> 1393		†3 Feb. 1398/9 [30 <i>Mar.</i> 1399]

(b) EASTER DATES, 532–1066. INDICTIONS, 600–1066

532* 11 Apr.	545 16 Apr.	554 5 Apr.
533 27 Mar.	546 8 Apr.	554 5 Apr.
534 16 Apr.	547 24 Mar.	555 28 Mar.
535 8 Apr.	548* 12 Apr.	555 18 Apr.
536* 23 Mar.	549 4 Apr.	556* 16 Apr.
537 12 Apr.	24 Apr. ¹	556* 9 Apr.
538 4 Apr.	550 17 Apr.	557 1 Apr.
539 24 Apr.	9 Apr.	557 1 Apr.
540* 8 Apr.	551 2 Apr.	558 21 Apr.
541 31 Mar.	31 Mar.	558 14 Apr.
542 20 Apr.	552* 21 Apr.	559 13 Apr.
543 5 Apr.	20 Apr.	559 6 Apr.
544* 27 Mar.	553 13 Apr.	560* 28 Mar.
		560* 28 Mar.

¹ The upper date is the Catholic Easter; the lower, the British. Attempts were made by S. Augustine, c. 602, and, with better success, by S. Wilfred in 664, to induce the British Church to conform to the Catholic use.

EASTER DATES, 532-1066. INDICATIONS, 600-1066—*continued*

561	<u>17 Apr.</u> 17 Apr.	580*	<u>21 Apr.</u> 14 Apr.	599	<u>19 Apr.</u> 12 Apr.	
562	<u>9 Apr.</u> 2 Apr.	581	<u>6 Apr.</u> 6 Apr.	600*	<u>10 Apr.</u> 3 Apr.	31
563	<u>25 Mar.</u> 25 Mar.	582	<u>29 Mar.</u> 19 Apr.	601	<u>26 Mar.</u> 26 Mar.	4
564*	<u>13 Apr.</u> 13 Apr.	583	<u>18 Apr.</u> 11 Apr.	602	<u>15 Apr.</u> 8 Apr.	5
565	<u>5 Apr.</u> 29 Mar.	584*	<u>2 Apr.</u> 2 Apr.	603	<u>7 Apr.</u> 31 Mar.	6
566	<u>28 Mar.</u> 18 Apr.	585	<u>25 Mar.</u> 25 Mar.	604*	<u>22 Mar.</u> 19 Apr.	7
567	<u>10 Apr.</u> 10 Apr.	586	<u>14 Apr.</u> 7 Apr.	605	<u>11 Apr.</u> 4 Apr.	8
568*	<u>1 Apr.</u> 25 Mar.	587	<u>30 Mar.</u> 30 Mar.	606	<u>3 Apr.</u> 27 Mar.	9
569	<u>21 Apr.</u> 14 Apr.	588*	<u>18 Apr.</u> 18 Apr.	607	<u>23 Apr.</u> 16 Apr.	10
570	<u>6 Apr.</u> 6 Apr.	589	<u>10 Apr.</u> 3 Apr.	608*	<u>7 Apr.</u> 7 Apr.	11
571	<u>29 Mar.</u> 29 Mar.	590	<u>26 Mar.</u> 26 Mar.	609	<u>30 Mar.</u> 20 Apr.	12
572*	<u>17 Apr.</u> 10 Apr.	591	<u>15 Apr.</u> 15 Apr.	610	<u>19 Apr.</u> 12 Apr.	13
573	<u>9 Apr.</u> 2 Apr.	592*	<u>6 Apr.</u> 30 Mar.	611	<u>4 Apr.</u> 28 Mar.	14
574	<u>25 Mar.</u> 25 Mar.	593	<u>29 Mar.</u> 19 Apr.	612*	<u>26 Mar.</u> 16 Apr.	15
575	<u>14 Apr.</u> 7 Apr.	594	<u>11 Apr.</u> 11 Apr.	613	<u>15 Apr.</u> 15 Apr.	1
576*	<u>5 Apr.</u> 29 Mar.	595	<u>3 Apr.</u> 27 Mar.	614	<u>31 Mar.</u> 31 Mar.	2
577	<u>25 Apr.</u> 18 Apr.	596*	<u>22 Apr.</u> 15 Apr.	615	<u>20 Apr.</u> 13 Apr.	3
578	<u>10 Apr.</u> 3 Apr.	597	<u>14 Apr.</u> 7 Apr.	616*	<u>11 Apr.</u> 4 Apr.	4
579	<u>2 Apr.</u> 26 Mar.	598	<u>30 Mar.</u> 20 Apr.	617	<u>3 Apr.</u> 27 Mar.	5

¹ This column indicates the Indiction.

EASTER DATES, 532-1066. INDICATIONS, 600-1066—*continued*

618	<u>16 Apr.</u> 16 Apr.	6	637	<u>20 Apr.</u> 20 Apr.	10	656*	<u>17 Apr.</u> 10 Apr.	14
619	<u>8 Apr.</u> 8 Apr.	7	638	<u>5 Apr.</u> 5 Apr.	11	657	<u>9 Apr.</u> 2 Apr.	15
620*	<u>30 Mar.</u> 20 Apr.	8	639	<u>28 Mar.</u> 18 Apr.	12	658	<u>25 Mar.</u> 25 Mar.	1
621	<u>19 Apr.</u> 12 Apr.	9	640*	<u>16 Apr.</u> 9 Apr.	13	659	<u>14 Apr.</u> 7 Apr.	2
622	<u>4 Apr.</u> 28 Mar.	10	641	<u>8 Apr.</u> 1 Apr.	14	660*	<u>5 Apr.</u> 29 Mar.	3
623	<u>27 Mar.</u> 17 Apr.	11	642	<u>24 Mar.</u> 14 Apr.	15	661	<u>28 Mar.</u> 18 Apr.	4
624*	<u>15 Apr.</u> 8 Apr.	12	643	<u>13 Apr.</u> 6 Apr.	1	662	<u>10 Apr.</u> 3 Apr.	5
625	<u>31 Mar.</u> 21 Apr.	13	644*	<u>4 Apr.</u> 28 Mar.	2	663	<u>2 Apr.</u> 26 Mar.	6
626	<u>20 Apr.</u> 13 Apr.	14	645	<u>24 Apr.</u> 17 Apr.	3	664*	<u>21 Apr.</u> 14 Apr.	7
627	<u>12 Apr.</u> 5 Apr.	15	646	<u>9 Apr.</u> 2 Apr.	4	665	<u>6 Apr.</u> 6 Apr.	8
628*	<u>27 Mar.</u> 27 Mar.	1	647	<u>1 Apr.</u> 25 Mar.	5	666	<u>29 Mar.</u> 19 Apr.	9
629	<u>16 Apr.</u> 9 Apr.	2	648*	<u>20 Apr.</u> 13 Apr.	6	667	<u>18 Apr.</u> 11 Apr.	10
630	<u>8 Apr.</u> 1 Apr.	3	649	<u>5 Apr.</u> 29 Mar.	7	668*	<u>9 Apr.</u> 2 Apr.	11
631	<u>24 Mar.</u> 21 Apr.	4	650	<u>28 Mar.</u> 18 Apr.	8	669	<u>25 Mar.</u> 15 Apr.	12
632*	<u>12 Apr.</u> 5 Apr.	5	651	<u>17 Apr.</u> 10 Apr.	9	670	<u>14 Apr.</u> 14 Apr.	13
633	<u>4 Apr.</u> 28 Mar.	6	652*	<u>1 Apr.</u> 25 Mar.	10	671	<u>6 Apr.</u> 30 Mar.	14
634	<u>24 Apr.</u> 17 Apr.	7	653	<u>21 Apr.</u> 14 Apr.	11	672*	<u>25 Apr.</u> 18 Apr.	15
635	<u>9 Apr.</u> 2 Apr.	8	654	<u>13 Apr.</u> 6 Apr.	12	673	<u>10 Apr.</u> 3 Apr.	1
636*	<u>31 Mar.</u> 21 Apr.	9	655	<u>29 Mar.</u> 29 Mar.	13	674	<u>2 Apr.</u> 26 Mar.	2

EASTER DATES, 532-1066. INDICATIONS, 600-1066—*continued*

675	<u>22 Apr.</u> 15 Apr.	3	694	<u>19 Apr.</u> 12 Apr.	7	713	<u>16 Apr.</u> 9 Apr.	11
676*	<u>6 Apr.</u> 30 Mar.	4	695	<u>11 Apr.</u> 28 Mar.	8	714	<u>8 Apr.</u> 1 Apr.	12
677	<u>29 Mar.</u> 19 Apr.	5	696*	<u>26 Mar.</u> 16 Apr.	9	715	<u>31 Mar.</u> 1 Apr.	13
678	<u>18 Apr.</u> 11 Apr.	6	697	<u>15 Apr.</u> 8 Apr.	10	716*	<u>19 Apr.</u> 5 Apr.	14
679	<u>3 Apr.</u> 27 Mar.	7	698	<u>7 Apr.</u> 31 Mar.	11	717	<u>4 Apr.</u> 28 Mar.	15
680*	<u>25 Mar.</u> 15 Apr.	8	699	<u>23 Mar.</u> 13 Apr.	12	718	27 Mar.	1
681	<u>14 Apr.</u> 7 Apr.	9	700*	<u>11 Apr.</u> 4 Apr.	13	719	16 Apr.	2
682	<u>30 Mar.</u> 20 Apr.	10	701	<u>3 Apr.</u> 27 Mar.	14	720*	31 Mar.	3
683	<u>19 Apr.</u> 12 Apr.	11	702	<u>23 Apr.</u> 16 Apr.	15	721	20 Apr.	4
684*	<u>10 Apr.</u> 3 Apr.	12	703	<u>8 Apr.</u> 1 Apr.	1	722	12 Apr.	5
685	<u>26 Mar.</u> 26 Mar.	13	704*	<u>30 Mar.</u> 20 Apr.	2	723	28 Mar.	6
686	<u>15 Apr.</u> 8 Apr.	14	705	<u>19 Apr.</u> 12 Apr.	3	724*	16 Apr.	7
687	<u>7 Apr.</u> 31 Mar.	15	706	<u>4 Apr.</u> 28 Mar.	4	725	8 Apr.	8
688*	<u>29 Mar.</u> 19 Apr.	1	707	<u>27 Mar.</u> 17 Apr.	5	726	24 Mar.	9
689	<u>11 Apr.</u> 4 Apr.	2	708*	<u>15 Apr.</u> 8 Apr.	6	727	13 Apr.	10
690	<u>3 Apr.</u> 27 Mar.	3	709	<u>31 Mar.</u> 21 Apr.	7	728*	4 Apr.	11
691	<u>23 Apr.</u> 18 Apr.	4	710	<u>20 Apr.</u> 13 Apr.	8	729	24 Apr.	12
692*	<u>14 Apr.</u> 14 Apr.	5	711	<u>12 Apr.</u> 5 Apr.	9	730	9 Apr.	13
693	<u>30 Mar.</u> 20 Apr.	6	712*	<u>3 Apr.</u> 27 Mar.	10	731	1 Apr.	14
						732*	20 Apr.	15
						733	5 Apr.	1
						734	28 Mar.	2
						735	17 Apr.	3
						736*	8 Apr.	4
						737	24 Mar.	5
						738	13 Apr.	6
						739	5 Apr.	7
						740*	24 Apr.	8
						741	9 Apr.	9
						742	1 Apr.	10
						743	14 Apr.	11
						744*	5 Apr.	12
						745	28 Mar.	13

EASTER DATES, 532-1066. INDICATIONS 600-1066—*continued*

746	17 Apr.	14	783	23 Mar.	6	820*	8 Apr.	13
747	2 Apr.	15	784*	11 Apr.	7	821	24 Mar.	14
748*	21 Apr.	1	785	3 Apr.	8	822	13 Apr.	15
749	13 Apr.	2	786	23 Apr.	9	823	5 Apr.	1
750	29 Mar.	3	787	8 Apr.	10	824*	24 Apr.	2
751	18 Apr.	4	788*	30 Mar.	11	825	9 Apr.	3
752*	9 Apr.	5	789	19 Apr.	12	826	1 Apr.	4
753	25 Mar.	6	790	11 Apr.	13	827	21 Apr.	5
754	14 Apr.	7	791	27 Mar.	14	828*	5 Apr.	6
755	6 Apr.	8	792*	15 Apr.	15	829	28 Mar.	7
756*	28 Mar.	9	793	7 Apr.	1	830	17 Apr.	8
757	10 Apr.	10	794	23 Mar.	2	831	2 Apr.	9
758	2 Apr.	11	795	12 Apr.	3	832*	24 Mar.	10
759	22 Apr.	12	796*	3 Apr.	4	833	13 Apr.	11
760*	6 Apr.	13	797	23 Apr.	5	834	5 Apr.	12
761	29 Mar.	14	798	8 Apr.	6	835	18 Apr.	13
762	18 Apr.	15	799	31 Mar.	7	836*	9 Apr.	14
763	3 Apr.	1	800*	19 Apr.	8	837	1 Apr.	15
764*	25 Mar.	2	801	4 Apr.	9	838	14 Apr.	1
765	14 Apr.	3	802	27 Mar.	10	839	6 Apr.	2
766	6 Apr.	4	803	16 Apr.	11	840*	28 Mar.	3
767	19 Apr.	5	804*	31 Mar.	12	841	17 Apr.	4
768*	10 Apr.	6	805	20 Apr.	13	842	2 Apr.	5
769	2 Apr.	7	806	12 Apr.	14	843	22 Apr.	6
770	22 Apr.	8	807	28 Mar.	15	844*	13 Apr.	7
771	7 Apr.	9	808*	16 Apr.	1	845	29 Mar.	8
772*	29 Mar.	10	809	8 Apr.	2	846	18 Apr.	9
773	18 Apr.	11	810	31 Mar.	3	847	10 Apr.	10
774	3 Apr.	12	811	13 Apr.	4	848*	25 Mar.	11
775	26 Mar.	13	812*	4 Apr.	5	849	14 Apr.	12
776*	14 Apr.	14	813	27 Mar.	6	850	6 Apr.	13
777	30 Mar.	15	814	16 Apr.	7	851	22 Mar.	14
778	19 Apr.	1	815	1 Apr.	8	852*	10 Apr.	15
779	11 Apr.	2	816*	20 Apr.	9	853	2 Apr.	1
780*	26 Mar.	3	817	12 Apr.	10	854	22 Apr.	2
781	15 Apr.	4	818	28 Mar.	11	855	7 Apr.	3
782	7 Apr.	5	819	17 Apr.	12	856*	29 Mar.	4

EASTER DATES, 532-1066. INDICATIONS, 600-1066—*continued*

857	18 Apr.	5	894	31 Mar.	12	931	10 Apr.	4
858	3 Apr.	6	895	20 Apr.	13	932*	1 Apr.	5
859	26 Mar.	7	896*	4 Apr.	14	933	14 Apr.	6
860*	14 Apr.	8	897	27 Mar.	15	934	6 Apr.	7
861	6 Apr.	9	898	16 Apr.	1	935	29 Mar.	8
862	19 Apr.	10	899	1 Apr.	2	936*	17 Apr.	9
863	11 Apr.	11	900*	20 Apr.	3	937	2 Apr.	10
864*	2 Apr.	12	901	12 Apr.	4	938	22 Apr.	11
865	22 Apr.	13	902	28 Mar.	5	939	14 Apr.	12
866	7 Apr.	14	903	17 Apr.	6	940*	29 Mar.	13
867	30 Mar.	15	904*	8 Apr.	7	941	18 Apr.	14
868 *	18 Apr.	1	905	31 Mar.	8	942	10 Apr.	15
869	3 Apr.	2	906	13 Apr.	9	943	26 Mar.	1
870	26 Mar.	3	907	5 Apr.	10	944*	14 Apr.	2
871	15 Apr.	4	908*	27 Mar.	11	945	6 Apr.	3
872*	30 Mar.	5	909	16 Apr.	12	946	22 Mar.	4
873	19 Apr.	6	910	1 Apr.	13	947	11 Apr.	5
874	11 Apr.	7	911	21 Apr.	14	948*	2 Apr.	6
875	27 Mar.	8	912*	12 Apr.	15	949	22 Apr.	7
876*	15 Apr.	9	913	28 Mar.	1	950	7 Apr.	8
877	7 Apr.	10	914	17 Apr.	2	951	30 Mar.	9
878	23 Mar.	11	915	9 Apr.	3	952*	18 Apr.	10
879	12 Apr.	12	916*	24 Mar.	4	953	3 Apr.	11
880*	3 Apr.	13	917	13 Apr.	5	954	26 Mar.	12
881	23 Apr.	14	918	5 Apr.	6	955	15 Apr.	13
882	8 Apr.	15	919	25 Apr.	7	956*	6 Apr.	14
883	31 Mar.	1	920*	9 Apr.	8	957	19 Apr.	15
884*	19 Apr.	2	921	1 Apr.	9	958	11 Apr.	1
885	11 Apr.	3	922	21 Apr.	10	959	3 Apr.	2
886	27 Mar.	4	923	6 Apr.	11	960*	22 Apr.	3
887	16 Apr.	5	924*	28 Mar.	12	961	7 Apr.	4
888*	7 Apr.	6	925	17 Apr.	13	962	30 Mar.	5
889	23 Mar.	7	926	2 Apr.	14	963	19 Apr.	6
890	12 Apr.	8	927	25 Mar.	15	964*	3 Apr.	7
891	4 Apr.	9	928*	13 Apr.	1	965	26 Mar.	8
892*	23 Apr.	10	929	5 Apr.	2	966	15 Apr.	9
893	8 Apr.	11	930	18 Apr.	3	967	31 Mar.	10

EASTER DATES, 532-1066. INDICATIONS, 600-1066—*continued*

968*	19 Apr.	11	1001	13 Apr.	14	1034	14 Apr.	2
969	11 Apr.	12	1002	5 Apr.	15	1035	30 Mar.	3
970	27 Mar.	13	1003	28 Mar.	1	1036*	18 Apr.	4
971	16 Apr.	14	1004*	16 Apr.	2	1037	10 Apr.	5
972*	7 Apr.	15	1005	1 Apr.	3	1038	26 Mar.	6
973	23 Mar.	1	1006	21 Apr.	4	1039	15 Apr.	7
974	12 Apr.	2	1007	6 Apr.	5	1040*	6 Apr.	8
975	4 Apr.	3	1008*	28 Mar.	6	1041	22 Mar.	9
976*	23 Apr.	4	1009	17 Apr.	7	1042	11 Apr.	10
977	8 Apr.	5	1010	9 Apr.	8	1043	3 Apr.	11
978	31 Mar.	6	1011	25 Mar.	9	1044*	22 Apr.	12
979	20 Apr.	7	1012*	13 Apr.	10	1045	7 Apr.	13
980*	11 Apr.	8	1013	5 Apr.	11	1046	30 Mar.	14
981	27 Mar.	9	1014	25 Apr.	12	1047	19 Apr.	15
982	16 Apr.	10	1015	10 Apr.	13	1048*	3 Apr.	1
983	8 Apr.	11	1016*	1 Apr.	14	1049	26 Mar.	2
984*	23 Mar.	12	1017	21 Apr.	15	1050	15 Apr.	3
985	12 Apr.	13	1018	6 Apr.	1	1051	31 Mar.	4
986	4 Apr.	14	1019	29 Mar.	2	1052*	19 Apr.	5
987	24 Apr.	15	1020*	17 Apr.	3	1053	11 Apr.	6
988*	8 Apr.	1	1021	2 Apr.	4	1054	3 Apr.	7
989	31 Mar.	2	1022	25 Mar.	5	1055	16 Apr.	8
990	20 Apr.	3	1023	14 Apr.	6	1056*	7 Apr.	9
991	5 Apr.	4	1024*	5 Apr.	7	1057	30 Mar.	10
992*	27 Mar.	5	1025	18 Apr.	8	1058	19 Apr.	11
993	16 Apr.	6	1026	10 Apr.	9	1059	4 Apr.	12
994	1 Apr.	7	1027	26 Mar.	10	1060*	26 Mar.	13
995	21 Apr.	8	1028*	14 Apr.	11	1061	15 Apr.	14
996*	12 Apr.	9	1029	6 Apr.	12	1062	31 Mar.	15
997	28 Mar.	10	1030	29 Mar.	13	1063	20 Apr.	1
998	17 Apr.	11	1031	11 Apr.	14	1064*	11 Apr.	2
999	9 Apr.	12	1032*	2 Apr.	15	1065	27 Mar.	3
1000*	31 Mar.	13	1033	22 Apr.	1	1066 ¹	16 Apr.	4

¹ Easter dates 1067-1920 will be found pp. 24-49; and 1920-2000 in Vol. II.

ENGLISH REGNAL YEARS AND TITLES

(c) THE ENGLISH EXCHEQUER YEAR

In making up the annual accounts of national receipts and expenditure the English Exchequer ended the financial year, without regard to the current Regnal Year, at Michaelmas, 29 September. It was a fixed feast of great convenience, not involved in such lengthy observances as Christmas and Easter, falling after the harvest, and while the roads to London were still hard enough for travelling. Down to the time of Edward II the first Exchequer Year of any King ran up to the first Michaelmas of his reign. But from Edward II's reign onwards the king's first Exchequer Year was reckoned from the Michaelmas nearest to his accession.

In 1786¹ a change began with the introduction of a Supplementary Statement of Accounts up to 5 January (Old Christmas Day). In 1799–1800 the 5th of January was formally adopted as the end of the financial year. In 1832 the end of the year for the Budget was 5 April (Old Lady Day), though Supply was taken only up to 31 March. In 1854, by 17 and 18 Vic., c. 94, s. 2, the beginning of the national financial year was fixed at 1 April.

THE ENGLISH EXCHEQUER YEAR

SOVEREIGN	EXCHEQUER YEAR BEGINS	SOVEREIGN	EXCHEQUER YEAR BEGINS
Henry II ..	Michaelmas 1155	Elizabeth ..	Michaelmas 1558
Richard I ..	Michaelmas 1189	James I ..	Michaelmas 1603
John ..	Michaelmas 1199	Charles I ..	Michaelmas 1625
Henry III..	Michaelmas 1217	Charles II	Michaelmas 1660
Edward I ..	Michaelmas 1273	James II ..	Michaelmas 1684
Edward II	Michaelmas 1307	William and	
Edward III	Michaelmas 1326	Mary ..	Michaelmas 1688
Richard II	Michaelmas 1377	William III	Michaelmas 1694
Henry IV ..	Michaelmas 1399	Anne ..	Michaelmas 1701
Henry V ..	Michaelmas 1412	George I ..	Michaelmas 1714
Henry VI ..	Michaelmas 1422	George II ..	Michaelmas 1727
Edward IV	Michaelmas 1460	George III	Michaelmas 1760
Richard III	Michaelmas 1483	George IV..	5 Jan. 1820
Henry VII	Michaelmas 1485	William IV	5 Jan. 1830
Henry VIII	Michaelmas 1509	Victoria ..	5 Apr. 1837
			1 Apr. 1855
Edward VI	Michaelmas 1546	Edward VII	1 Apr. 1901
Mary ..	Michaelmas 1553	George V ..	1 Apr. 1910
Philip and			
Mary ..	Michaelmas 1554		

¹ See H. Higgs, *The Financial System of the United Kingdom*, Macmillan, 1914, p. 1, n. 1.

(d) ENGLISH LAW AND UNIVERSITY TERMS
AND QUARTER DAYS

LAW TERMS

The English Law Terms were regulated by the succession of the seasons and by the Christian Year. Christmas and Michaelmas, fixed Festivals, were followed by fixed Terms. Easter and Trinity Terms, being regulated by the Festivals the names of which they bear, might move over a space of thirty-five days. A Term might fall in two Regnal Years. For example, in the reign of Edward I Michaelmas Term bore the date of the Regnal Year in which it began, and of the next Regnal Year, in which it ended. The periods between the Terms are called Vacations—*e.g.*, the Long Vacation is the time from the end of Trinity Term to the beginning of Michaelmas Term.

To find the days and dates on which the Terms of any year began and ended, look for the date of Easter Day in the list of Regnal Years, and then find the corresponding table in the volume of Easter Tables.

I. BEFORE 1831

MICHAELMAS TERM.

Began (before 1641) 9 Oct. (or 10 Oct., if 9 Oct. was Sunday).
 (1641–1751)¹ 23 Oct. (or 24 Oct., if 23 Oct. was Sunday).
 (1752–1830)² the Fourth Day of the Morrow of All Souls—
 i.e., 6 Nov. (or 7 Nov., if 6 Nov. was Sunday).
Ended 28 Nov. (or 29 Nov., if 28 Nov. was Sunday).

HILARY TERM.

Began 23 Jan. (or 24 Jan., if 23 Jan. was Sunday).
Ended 12 Feb. (or 13 Feb., if 12 Feb. was Sunday).

EASTER TERM.

Began Wednesday fortnight after Easter Day—*i.e.*, Wednesday after the Second Sunday after Easter.
Ended Monday after Ascension Day.

TRINITY TERM.

Began (before 1264) Wednesday after the Octave of Trinity Sunday.
 (1264–1540) Wednesday after Corpus Christi Day (the same day as before, but with another title).
 (1541–1830)³ Friday after Corpus Christi Day.
Ended Wednesday fortnight after it began—*i.e.*, Wednesday after the Third Sunday after Trinity.

¹ By 16 Car. I, c. 6.² By 24 Geo. II, c. 48.³ By 32 Hen. VIII. c. 21.

II. FROM 1831 ONWARDS¹

MICHAELMAS TERM.

Begins 2 Nov.*Ends* 25 Nov. (or 26 Nov., if 25 Nov. be Sunday).

HILARY TERM.

Begins 11 Jan.*Ends* 31 Jan. (or 1 Feb., if 31 Jan. be Sunday).EASTER TERM.²*Begins* 15 Apr.*Ends* 8 May (or 9 May, if 8 May be Sunday).

TRINITY TERM.

Begins 22 May.*Ends* 12 Jun. (or 13 Jun., if 12 Jun. be Sunday).UNIVERSITY TERMS³

MICHAELMAS TERM.

Begins 10 Oct.*Ends* 17 Dec.

HILARY TERM.

Begins 14 Jan.*Ends* Eve of Palm Sunday.

EASTER TERM.

Began Wed. week after Easter.*Ended* Thurs. before Whit-Sunday.

SINCE 1862.

Begins Wed. after Easter.*Ends* Frid. before Whit-Sunday.

TRINITY or ACT TERM.

Began Eve of Corpus Christi Day.*Ended* 14 Sep., or as arranged.

SINCE 1862.

Begins Sat. before Whit-Sunday.*Ends* Sat. after first Tues. in July.¹ By 1 Will. IV, c. 70, amended by 1 Will. IV, c. 3.² The days from Maundy Thursday to Easter Wednesday, both included, count as part of Easter Term (should they or any of them fall after 15 Apr.) although there shall be no sittings in banco.³ See Wordsworth, *Ancient Kalendar of the University of Oxford*, O.H.S., 1903-4, p. 269; *Statuta Univ. Oxon*, Tit. I, § 1.

QUARTER DAYS

The Quarter Days generally observed for settling accounts are:

The Annunciation of Our Lady, 25 Mar.

The Nativity of S. John the Baptist, 24 Jun.

The Feast of S. Michael and All Angels, 29 Sep.

Christmas Day, 25 Dec.

In some cases the Old Quarter Days were observed after 1752—*e.g.*, 5 Apr. (Old Lady Day).

In the North of England the Quarter Days were: Candlemas, 2 Feb.; Whitsun; Lammas, 1 Aug.; S. Martin in Hieme, 11 Nov.

(e) THE DAYS OF THE WEEK

(Septimana, Hebdomada)

Sunday	..	Dominica	Feria prima: Dies Solis: Dies dominicus: Prima sabbatorum.
Monday	..	Dies Lune	Feria secunda: Secunda sabbati.
Tuesday	..	Dies Martis	Feria tertia: Tertia sabbati.
Wednesday	..	Dies Mercurii	Feria quarta: Quarta sabbati: Media septimana.
Thursday	..	Dies Jovis	Feria quinta: Quinta sabbati.
Friday	..	Dies Veneris	Feria sexta: Sexta sabbati.
Saturday	..	Sabbatum	Feria septima: Dies Saturni..

V. ENGLISH ROYAL CHARTERS AND WRITS ANALYZED

THE documents analyzed in this section belong, strictly speaking, to two classes: (1) Diplomas or "charters"; (2) Writs. (1) A diploma is a document which either (*a*) effects a change (*e.g.*, of ownership in land, or of grade in nobility); or (*b*) is the written record of a change otherwise carried out (*e.g.*, by delivery of a sod of earth) given by the person effecting the change to the person for whose benefit it is effected. (2) A writ is an order to do something, or to take note that something has been done.¹ The one is a title-deed which may be produced in a law-court as proof of ownership, etc.; the other is a letter setting administrative machinery in motion which may be produced as sufficient authority for the action which it enjoins. Both classes of document must bear clear evidence who they are from, who they are to, what is their purpose, and whether they are adequately ratified. As medieval government was carried on by writs, and the possession of real property depended on charters, it was necessary to have such forms as might readily be recognized as authentic by those who issued, received, or were affected

¹ Cf. for (1*a*) a Bishop's Deed of Institution to a benefice; for (1*b*) a Priest's Letters of Orders; for (2) a Bishop's Mandate to his Archdeacon to induct to a benefice.

by them. "For the writing which is written in the King's name, and sealed with the King's ring, may no man reverse."

Constant repetition, the spirit of orderliness, the disappearance of original deeds, and the cunning of the forger, tended to bring into existence in each of the royal Chanceries of Europe set formulas for their diplomas and writs.¹ As, moreover, all Governments have similar work to do, and as that work was carried out in medieval times by men who were banded together in a great international organization which had a common language, it is not surprising to find a family likeness in the diplomas and writs of the several Christian nations of the West.

A diploma, like a sermon, should have three parts—a beginning, a middle, and an end. Of these, the first and last are likely to become stereotyped, and the middle to remain unset except for a framework of key-phrases varying according to the business in hand. It must not be thought that all the parts named in the following analysis of a pattern diploma will be found in every document, or that the order in which they occur is invariable.

ANALYSIS OF THE DIPLOMA-FORM

I. *The Protocol :*

(a) Invocation.

(b) Proëm—giving general motives.

¹ For further details regarding English diplomas and writs, consult H. Hall, *Studies in English Official Historical Documents* and *A Formula Book of English Official Historical Documents, Part I. Diplomatic Documents*, both Cambridge, 1908.

- (c) Superscription—giving grantor's name and title.
- (d) Address—names, etc., of those to whom it is directed.
- (e) Salutation.

II. *The Text* :

- (f) Notification.
- (g) Preamble—giving particular reasons.
- (h) Disposition—giving details, conditions, etc., of grant.
- (i) Injunction.

ERRATUM

Page 89, III. (q), for "Appreciation" read "Apprecation."

- (s) Seal of grantor (not universal or early).

The analysis of the Writ-form would be, *mutatis mutandis*, very similar to that of the Diploma-form, but briefer and a little less formal, as being intended only for some temporary administrative purpose.

OLD ENGLISH ROYAL DIPLOMA

This royal Charter or Land-boc cannot be very closely analyzed in form or wording. The King speaks in the first person singular; the grantee is mentioned

either in the second person (chiefly in Kent until c. 800), or the third person (*e.g.*, in Mercia and Essex). The tense of the grant is at first present or past, and later present, past, or future mixed with present. The Charter is never in epistolary form; never has any Address (generally omits also any Salutation and Notification); never contains a specific grant of jurisdiction; never threatens a monetary sanction; never mentions the scribe's name; has no Completion, and no seal. The Land-boc was current from the seventh to the twelfth centuries, and was used to convey land.

I. *The Protocol :*

- (a) Invocation: ✠ *In nomine dei nostri saluatoris ihu xpi*, or similarly; or, ✠ *Regnante in perpetuum domino nostro Iesu Christo salvatore !* or similarly.
- (b) Proëm: some sentiment regarding the proper use of temporal things, etc.
- (c) Superscription: *Quapropter, Quamobrem, Quade re, Unde ego* (name and title at length).

II. *The Text :*

- (g) Preamble: particular motive; either spiritual —*e.g.*, *pro remedio animae meae*: or material —*e.g.*, *pro eius amabili pecunia*.
- (h) Disposition: statement of grant (*concedo, condono, dono, trado, tribuo*); note of conditions, consideration, or reservation; description of the property (perambulation often in English).
- (l) Sanction: spiritual penalties: *Si quis . . . Quisquis uero, autem. . .*

III. *The Ratification :*

- (*n*), (*o*), (*p*) See pp. 13–19. *Acta, gesta*, etc., never
Datum. Attestation: ✠ Names of King and
 witnesses; *consensi et subscripsi*, etc.

OLD ENGLISH ROYAL VERNACULAR WRIT

This Writ, though a kind of very formal and official letter, modelled perhaps upon the letters in Acts xv. 23–29; xxiii. 26–30,¹ was yet free and simple in phraseology and structure. After the Notification it may vary infinitely. It was used for administrative purposes, proclamations, notifications, etc. The earliest known example occurs in 984; it became common under Cnut, and was in use until the reign of Richard I. It was the forerunner of the Anglo-Norman Royal Writ-Charter.

I. *The Protocol :*

- (*a*) Invocation: ✠
 (*c*) Superscription: *N. cyncg* or *Ic N. cyncg*.
 (*d*) Address: (1) The administrative officers and constituent members of the Shire Court—*i.e.*, the bishops, earls, reeves, and thegns; or (2) particular persons by name.
 (*e*) Salutation: *gret N. freondlice*.

II. *The Text :*

- (*f*) Notification: *and ic cyðe eow ðæt* . . .
 (*h*) Disposition: *ic hæbbe geunnen* . . . or *ic habbe
 gegeben* . . . or *ic wylle ðæt* . . . condition:
swa full and swa forð . . . or *mid saca and
 socna* . . .
 (*i*) Injunction: *and ic wylle* . . . or *and ic
 bidde* . . .

¹ Cf. many similar official letters amongst the Oxyrhynchus Papyri.

- (k) Prohibition: *and ic nelle . . . or and ic wylle nan . . . or and ic forbeode . . .*
 (l) Sanction: *and gif anig man . . .*
 (m) Valediction: *God eow alle gehealde.*

III. *The Ratification :*

- (n), (o) Date of place and time rare, singly or together.
 (p) Attestation: rare; witnesses only mentioned—
e.g., on Eadgiðe gewitnysse ðære cwene and Godwines eorles and Haroldes eorles.

ANGLO-NORMAN ROYAL WRIT-CHARTER

This charter is the Anglo-Norman adaptation of the old vernacular Writ. The Address varies; there is no Proëm; no Sanction; no complete Date; witnesses gradually oust the Valediction; the Preamble is not always present. This form was used for conveying land, etc., and persisted until Henry II.'s reign.

I. *The Protocol :*

- (c) Superscription: *N. Rex Anglorum.*
 (d) Address: (1) The administrative officers and lieges of a shire—*e.g., Thome eboracensi Archiepiscopo et Samsoni episcopo et Omnibus Baronibus et fidelibus suis francis et Anglis de Gloecestre scira ;* or (2) universal—*e.g., Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus (Justiciis, inserted by Stephen) Comitibus Vicecomitibus (Baronibus, inserted later by Henry I.) (Ministris, inserted by Stephen) et Omnibus fidelibus suis francis et Anglis totius Anglie.*
 (e) Salutation: *Salutem.*

II. *The Text :*(f) Notification: *Sciatis.*(g) Preamble: *pro remedio anime mee . . . or pro servicio suo. . . .*(h) Disposition: *me dedisse et concessisse, or concessisse et confirmasse N. . . . details of grant.*(i) Injunction: *Et volo et firmiter precipio quod bene et in pace et honorifice et libere, etc. . . . in bosco et plano in pratis et pasturis in aquis et molendinis in viis et semitis in foris et feriis infra burgum et extra in ciuitate et extra et in omnibus locis cum soca et saca et toll et team et infangenethef et cum omnibus aliis consuetudinibus et libertatibus. . . .*(k) Prohibition: *Et super hoc prohibeo. . . .*III. *The Ratification :*(p) Attestation: *Testibus . . . and/or*(m) Valediction: *Valete.*(n) Date of place: *Apud . . .*

(s) The King's Great Seal attached by tag or strip.

ANGLO-NORMAN ROYAL WRIT

This Writ was used for administrative and judicial purposes during the twelfth century. Towards the end of the century the Superscription and Address were expanded, in the Injunction *Mando* became *Mandamus*, the witness of the King (*Teste me ipso*) superseded that of his magnates in the Attestation, and the day of the month was added in the Date.

I. *The Protocol* :(c) Superscription: *N. Rex Anglorum*.(d) Address: (1) Particular and general (as in charters)—*e.g.*, *N.N. et baronibus suis et fidelibus francis et anglis*; (2) to particular administrative officials—*e.g.*, *N. thesaurario et illi et illi camerariis*.(e) Salutation: *Salutem*.II. *The Text* :(f) Notification: *Sciatis quod . . .* (omitted when inappropriate).(i) Injunction: *Mando, precipio, volo . . . Liberate, compute, allocate. . . . Vide sicut teipsum et omnia tua diligis quod sis ad scaccarium. . . .*(k) Prohibition: *Prohibeo, nolo . . .*III. *The Ratification* :(p) Attestation: *Testibus . . .* (few witnesses, often one or two).(n) Date of place: *Apud . . .*

(s) The King's Great Seal on strip.

ANGLO-ANGEVIN ROYAL CHARTER

This form was used with small variations by Henry II. Notice the developement of the Protocol, the introduction of *Tenendam* in the Disposition, and the continued absence of the date of time.

I. *The Protocol* :

(c) Superscription: N. and title at length (see p. 53).

(d) Address: (1) Universal; *Archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, justiciis, vicecomitibus, ministris, et omnibus fidelibus suis francis et anglis*; or (2) particular.

(e) Salutation: *Salutem*.

II. *The Text* :

(f) Notification: *Sciatis*.

(h) Disposition: *Me dedisse et concessisse, or reddidisse et per hanc cartam confirmasse N. . . .*, etc.; details of grant; *tenendam sibi et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis. . . .*

(i) Injunction: *Quare uolo et firmiter precipio quod bene et in pace, etc. . . . in bosco et plano, etc. . . .*

III. *The Ratification* :

(p) Attestation: *Testibus. . . .*

(n) Date of place: *Apud . . .*

(s) The King's Great Seal attached by silk strings.

ENGLISH ROYAL CHARTER AFTER 1189

(i.) Early Form: Richard I. and John.

In this form the Address still varies: Richard added *bailliuis* and sometimes *senescallis et prepositis*. In the Disposition the King speaks in the plural number (*nos, noster*). The phraseology develops as law becomes more intricate. The Charter was used for conveying land or confirming previous grants, or granting privileges and immunities.

I. *The Protocol* :

(c) Superscription: N. and title at length.

(d) Address: (1) General: *Archiepiscopis, episcopis,*

abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, justiciariis, vicecomitibus, et omnibus bailliis, ministris, et fidelibus suis.

(e) Salutation: *Salutem.*

II. *The Text :*

(f) Notification: *Sciatis . . . or Nouerit universitas vestra. . . .*

(h) Disposition: *nos dedisse et concessisse et presenti carta confirmasse dilecto et fidei nostro N. . . . details of grant . . . tenenda de nobis . . . per seruicium . . . pro omni seruicio. . . .*

(i) Injunction: *Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus quod ille . . . terras . . . habeant et teneant de nobis . . . bene et in pace . . in bosco et plano. . . .*

III. *The Ratification :*

(p) Attestation: *Testibus . . . or Hiis Testibus . . .*

(r) Completion: *Data per manum N. cancellarii nostri.*

(o) Date of time: day of month and regnal year.

(n) Date of place: *Apud . . .*

(s) The King's Great Seal on silk strings. The Seal was of brown or green wax. On the Seal itself (or obverse) was an image of the King on his throne: on the Counter-seal (or reverse) the King on horseback facing to the right. The inscription ran round the edges of both Seal and Counter-seal. The type of Royal Seal has remained the same until the present time.

(ii.) Settled Form.

Until the reign of Richard I. there was no sharp diplomatic difference between a Royal Charter making a grant and another renewing or "confirming" a grant already made (the word *confirmare* is ambiguous). But from the beginning of the thirteenth century Royal Charters may be divided into two classes: (a) Original Grants; and (b) Charters of Confirmation.¹

(ii.) Settled Form: (a) Original Grants.

(a) The Crown issued original grants by Royal Charter of lands, tenements, etc., and of liberties, privileges, immunities, and exemptions to private persons and to corporate bodies such as towns and monasteries.

I. *The Protocol* :

(c) Superscription: N. and title at length.

(d) Address: *Archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus* (after 1227), *ducibus* (after 1351), *marchionibus* (1397–1399 and 1509–1516, but not always then), *comitibus, baronibus, justiciariis, vicecomitibus, maioribus* (when appropriate), *prepositis, ministris, et omnibus bailliis et fidelibus suis*.

(e) Salutation: *Salutem*.

II. *The Text* :

(f) Notification: *Sciatis*.

(g) Preamble: *Intuitu Dei et pro salute anime nostre et animarum antecessorum et succes-*

¹ See Scargill-Bird, *Guide to the Public Record Office*, 3rd edition, 1908, p. 26.

sorum nostrum; or ad instanciam dilecti et fidelis nostri N. et pro bono seruicio. . . .

(h) Disposition: *Nos dedisse concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse dilecto et fidei nostro N. . . . details of grant . . . Habendū et tenendū de nobis et heredibus nostris sibi et heredibus suis. . . .*

(i) Injunction: *Quare uolumus et firmiter precipimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod predictus N. in perpetuum habeat et teneat . . . details of grant repeated . . . sicut predictum est.*

III. *The Ratification :*

(p) Attestation: *Hiis testibus. . . .*

(r) Completion: *Data per manum nostram* (after 1227).

(n) Date of place: *Apud . . .*

(o) Date of time: day of month and regnal year.

(s) Seal: the King's Great Seal on silk strings.

(ii.) Settled Form: (b) Charters of Confirmation.

(b) Charters of Confirmation were rendered necessary by the loss or destruction of original grants, by the accession of a new King, or even by the King's need of ready money. A Charter of Confirmation recites the substance but not necessarily the terms or details of a former grant, to which it may or may not make additions. After 1227, when the nonage of Henry III. came to an end, Charters of Confirmation were generally in the form of an *Inspeximus*. The legal formulas

for an *Inspeximus* by Royal Charter or by Letters Patent were determined by Act of Parliament, 1285.

(1) Confirmation by *Inspeximus*.

I. *The Protocol* as for an Original Grant.

II. *The Text* :

(g) Preamble: *Inspeximus cartam quam dilectus et fidelis noster N. . . . fecit M . . . in hec verba . . .*
the inspected charter follows at length. . . .

(h) Disposition: *Nos autem donationem concessionem . . . predictas ratas habentes et gratas eas pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est predicto M. concedimus et confirmamus sicut carta predicta rationabiliter testatur.*

III. *The Ratification* as for an Original Grant.

(2) Confirmation by *Exemplification*.

This was nothing more than a certified copy under the Great Seal, which was enrolled in the Chancery. The Preamble is the same as that of an *Inspeximus*, but the Disposition runs *Nos autem . . . duximus exemplificandum.*

(3) Confirmation by *Constat*.

This was used for similar purposes, but confirmed the tenor of a Record, such as an extract from Domesday Book, or a Royal Charter.

(4) Confirmation by *Innotescimus*.

This was a certificate recording a deed, reciting the tenor of lost deeds, or even simply recording a properly authenticated fact—*e.g.*, of parentage.

LETTERS PATENT

Letters Patent,¹ enrolled certainly since 1201, were employed for the public business of the realm. Their effect might be as great as that of the Royal Charter (which they gradually ousted), or as temporary as a request for a loan. Any matter relating to the Crown and the subject which had any need of publicity might apparently be dealt with by Letters Patent. They were issued open, witnessed by the King alone, and bore no Chancery date.

I. *The Protocol :*

- (c) Superscription: N. and title at length.
- (d) Address: (1) General: *Omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint*; (2) particular—e.g., *Baronibus suis de Scaccario*.
- (e) Salutation: *Salutem*.

II. *The Text :*

- (f) Notification: *Sciatis . . . noveritis . . . inspeximus . . . etc.*; or a statement relating to the business of the letter.
- (i) Injunction: *Et ideo vobis omnibus et singulis mandamus firmiter iniungentes . . .* or as required by the occasion.

III. *The Ratification :*

- (p) Attestation: (1) *In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes*; (2) *Teste me ipso*.

¹ For further details see Scargill-Bird, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-29.

- (n) Date of place: *Apud* . . .
- (o) Date of time: day of month, sometimes also regnal year.
- (s) The King's Great Seal on a broad tag of parchment.

LETTERS CLOSE

Letters Close,¹ enrolled certainly since 1204, were issued, as the name implies, closed up and not open. They were addressed to individuals and dealt with matters touching the Crown and the Government which did not require the publicity accorded by Letters Patent. Particular affairs affecting the royal prerogative, the revenue, the judicature, the maintenance of order, etc. throughout the kingdom were dealt with by Letters Close. They may be distinguished from Letters Patent by the absence of the clause in the Attestation notifying patency.

I. *The Protocol* :

- (c) Superscription: N. and title at length.
- (d) Address: Particular.
- (e) Salutation: *Salutem*.

II. *The Text* :

- (g) Preamble: as required by the business.
- (i) Injunction: *Et ideo vobis mandamus . . . tibi precipimus . . .*, etc., as required.

III. *The Ratification* :

- (p) Attestation: *Teste me ipso*.
- (n) Date of place: *Apud* . . .

¹ For further details see Scargill-Bird, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 30.

- (o) Date of time: day of month, sometimes also regnal year.
- (s) The King's Great Seal.

WRITS

For the multitudinous Writ-forms see *Registrum omnium breuium tam originalium quam iudicialium, Lond., apud Gulielmum Rastell, 1531.*

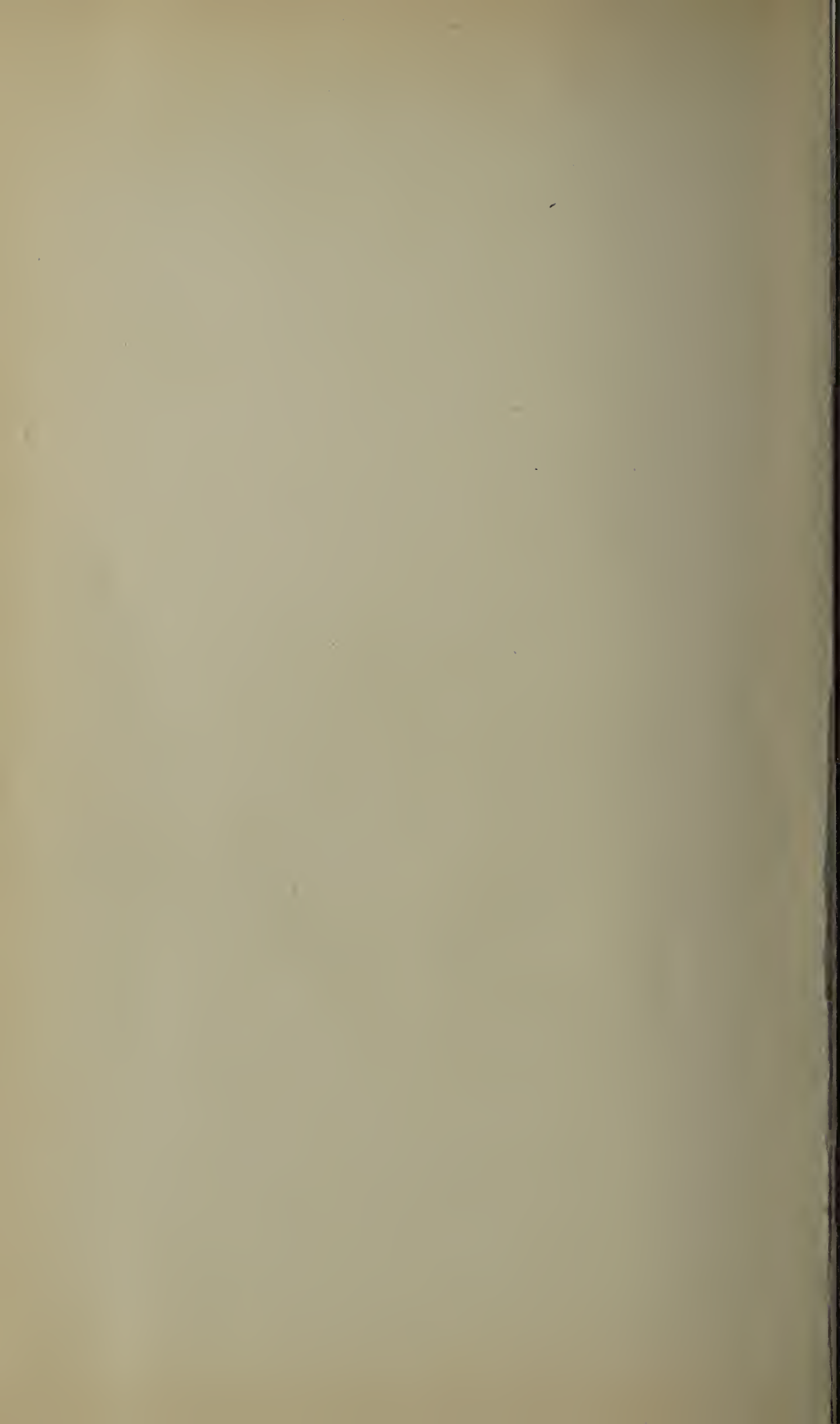
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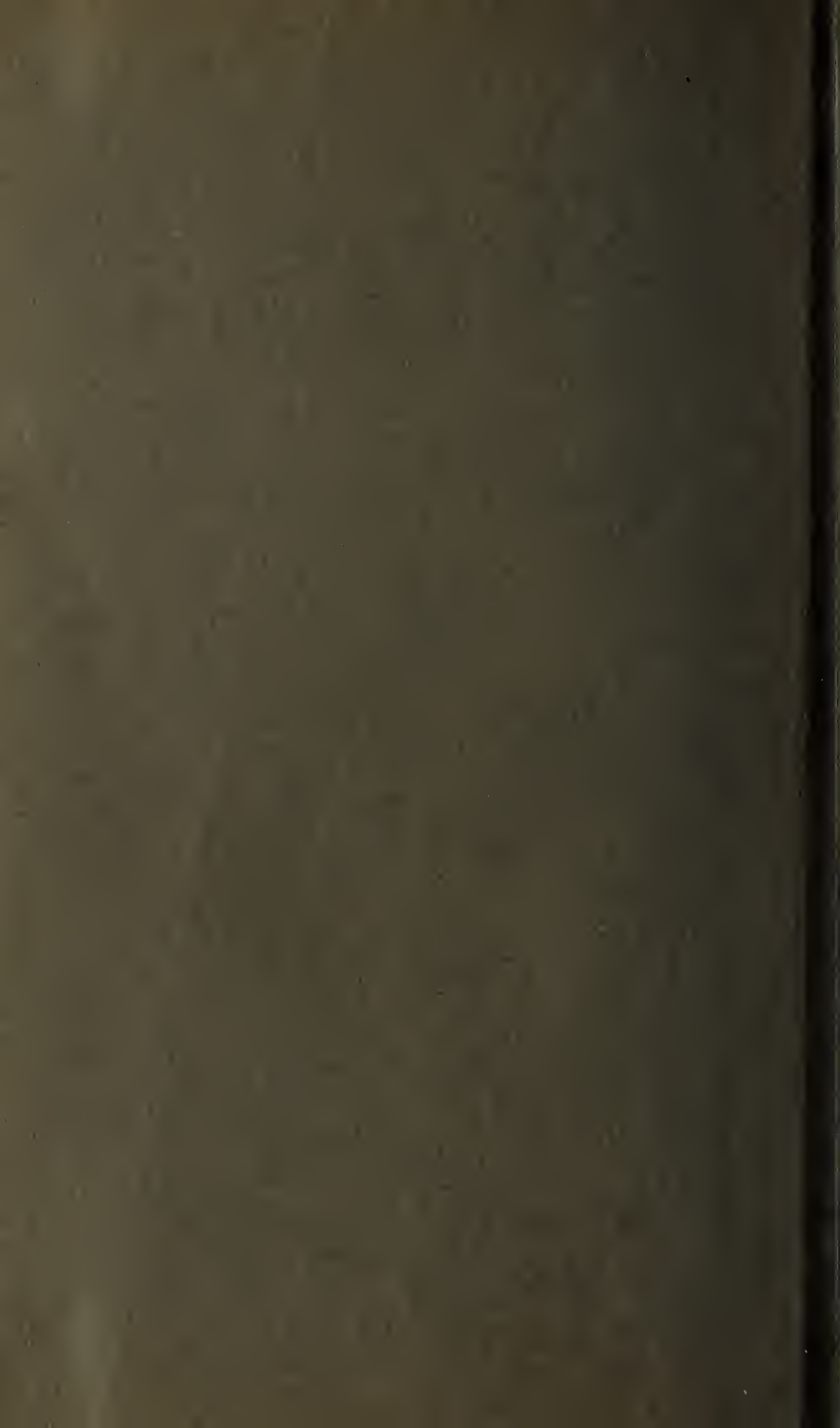
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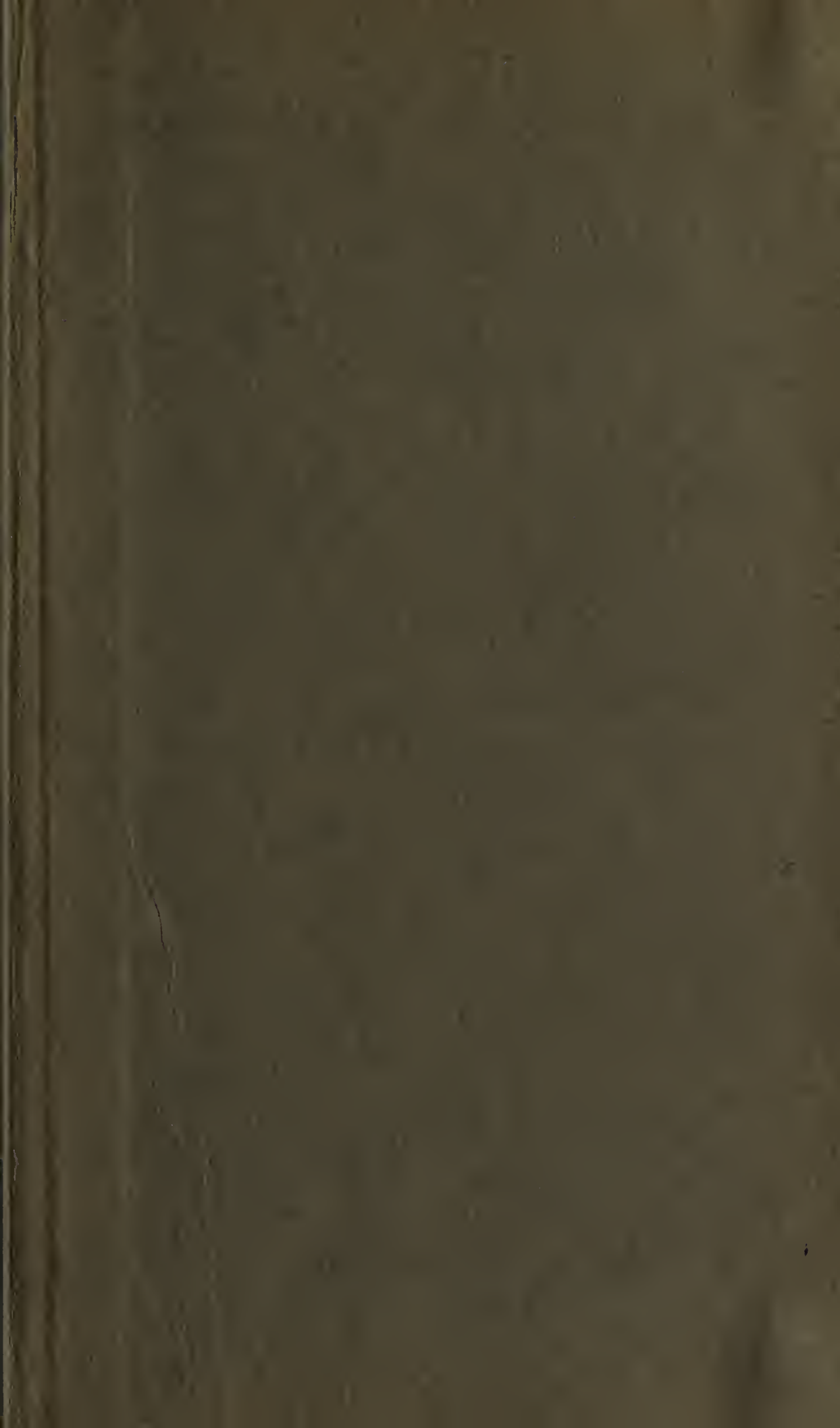
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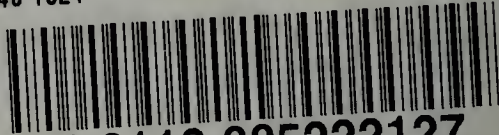
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